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LETTERS should be addressed to OLIVER JOHNSON, *Editor of The Anti-Slavery Standard*, 48 Beekman-st., New York.

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

THE STANDARD.

THIRD DECADE

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

CELEBRATION IN PHILADELPHIA.

Phonographically Reported by HENRY M. PARKHURST.

THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY celebrated the completion of its Third Decade, at Concert Hall in Philadelphia, Dec. 3d and 4th, 1863, commencing at 10 o'clock, a.m.

The Hall was decorated with the beautiful banners of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, on which were inscribed appropriate mottoes from the writings of Whittier, W. H. Burleigh and others. In the rear of the platform the American flag, now at length the symbol of Liberty, hung in beautiful festoons, extending each way from an Eagle and National Shield in the centre, and surmounted by a white banner or band, on which were inscribed in conspicuous black letters the words, "UNION AND LIBERTY." At different points large white cards were displayed, on which were inscribed appropriate sentences from Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Randolph, Clay and other eminent men of the past.

The Hall was filled at an early hour, and some time was spent in mutual greetings and congratulations on the part of friends of the cause from different parts of the country, who all appeared to share one common feeling of thanksgiving and hopefulness.

Among those who were present all or a portion of the time were the following persons:

Wm. Lloyd Garrison,	Frederick Douglass,
James Mott,	James McCrummell,
Lucretia Mott,	Margaretta Forten,
Thomas Garrett,	Eusebius Barnard,
Rachel Garrett,	Sarah M. Barnard,
Thomas Whitson,	Alice Jackson,
Martha Whitson,	Frederick Frothingham,
Dr. Bartholomew Fussell,	J. Longshore,
Samuel J. May,	Henry Ward Beecher,
Levi Coffin,	Hon. Henry Wilson,
Rev. Wm. H. Furness,	John T. S. Smith,
Theodore Tilton,	Wm. Hall,
J. Miller McKim,	Wm. H Love,
Oliver Johnson,	Alfred H. Love,
Edward M. Davis,	John Jolliffe, Esq.,
Stephen S. Foster,	Ann Rebecca Bramhall,
Chas. C. Burleigh,	Col. Wagner,
Enoch Mack,	Col. Pribleo,
Samuel May, Jr.,	Wm. S. Pierce, Esq.,
Samuel D. Moore,	Wm. B. Thomas, Esq.,
James N. Buffum,	Passmore Williamson,
Henry C. Wright,	Geo. A. Coffey, Esq.,
Jane Elizabeth Jones,	Grace Greenwood,
Lucy Stone,	Andrew T. Foss,
Sarah Pugh,	Edwin B. Coates,
Mary Grew,	[illegible] Sawyer,
Susan B. Anthony,	Edward Hopper,
Robert Purvis,	Anna Hopper,
Harriet Purvis,	Misses Newbold,
Abby Kelley Foster,	Frances D. Gage,
Margaret J. Burleigh,	Wm. S. Bailey,
Abby Kimber,	Mary L. Cox,
Mattie Griffith,	Jacob Paxson,
Maria M. Davis,	Eliza W. Osborne,
Sarah Russell May,	Thos. McClintock,
Sarah A. McKim,	Mary Ann McClintock,
Isaac Winslow,	Hannah W. Haydock,
John T. Sargent,	William Still,
Mary Ann W. Johnson,	Caleb Pusey,
Cornelius Bramhall,	Col. N. P. Hallowell,
Frank and Emily Taylor,	Jacob Pierce,
Joseph Carpenter,	Allen Agnew,
Joseph Moore,	Maria and Eliza Agnew,
James Pierce,	Mary Richards,
Esther C. Pierce,	Aaron M. Powell,
Piny Sexton,	Elias H. Corson,
Benj. C. Bacon,	Thomas and Mary Lightfoot,
John Cox,	Thomas Hambleton,
Hannah Cox,	Charles Hambleton,
Orson S. Murray,	Eliza Yarnall,
Amy Post,	Huldah Justice,
Eben. D Draper,	Cyrus Pierce and daughters,
Anna T. Draper,	Charles Pierce,
Chandler Darlington,	David A. Morey,
Mahlon B. Linton,	Esther Hayes,
Samuel Aaron,	Agnes Crane,
Elijah F. Pennypacker,	Martha Corson,
William Chace,	Mary W. Cook,
Sarah E. Wall,	R. W. Cushman,
Ed. Wetherell and sisters,	Rachel H. Jones,
Benjamin Fish,	Elizabeth W Phillips,
Abraham L. Brooke,	James and Mary Truman,
Josiah Hayward,	Sarah T. Child,
Caroline E. Putnam,	Anna Brown, (daughter of Capt. John Brown),
Abraham Folsom,	William and Mercy Lloyd,
James A. Wright,	J. Williams Thorne,
Robert Lamborn,	Isaac Mendenhall,
Lydia White,	Dinah Mendenhall,
Wm. L. Garrison, Jr.,	Dr. Joseph Gibbons,
Wendell P. Garrison,	Thomas Borton,
Dr. Joseph Gibbons,	Maria J. Dennett,
Anna E. Dickinson,	Rachel Eastburn,
Daniel Neall,	Rachel E. Shaw,
Erasmus D. Hudson,	Rachel Wilson,
Joseph Hood,	R. I. Sellers,
Samuel Sellers,	M. Lewis,
Nathan W. Ellis,	Eliza Agnew,
Rev. J. M. Walden,	Jos. Lewis, Jr.,
Joseph Fussell,	M. A. Evans,
Lukens Pierce,	Henry Bowman,
A. E. Hambleton,	Hannah Ellis,
Sarah Palmer,	Samuel Pennock.
John Palmer,	
Joshua Hooper,	

The meeting was called to order by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, the President; and on motion of J. MILLER MCKIM, to complete the organization, AARON M. POWELL and WENDELL PHILLIPS GARRISON were appointed Secretaries *pro-tem.*

Mr. MCKIM also moved the appointment of a Business Committee of twelve, to prepare work for the meeting, and to receive resolutions and other papers, and report them at their discretion.

The motion was agreed to, and the following were appointed as such Committee: James Miller McKim, Mary Grew, Aaron M. Powell, Lucretia Mott, Robert Purvis, Oliver Johnson, John T. Sargent, Sarah Pugh, Theodore Tilton, Abraham L. Brooke, Alfred H. Love, Samuel May, Jr.

Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY offered a very appropriate and impressive prayer.

Introductory Remarks by the President.

BELOVED FRIENDS AND COADJUTORS: This is the Third Decade since the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society in this city. It will, in all probability, be the last one that we shall hold; for who now believes that slavery is to continue ten years longer in our land, rendering necessary ten years longer of anti-slavery effort for its overthrow? We trust that we are very near the jubilee. We know that we are a great deal nearer to it than when we first believed. What was sown in weakness is raised in power; what was sown in dishonor is raised in glory. All the signs of the times, in regard to our glorious cause, are cheering in the highest degree. It is no longer a question confined to a few humble individuals as against a mighty nation; but it is a nation rocking as by an earthquake, in travail with this tremendous issue. And now, instead of words, the question is debated upon the battle-field, at the cannon's mouth; and, undoubtedly, through this war of judgment, God means to vouchsafe deliverance to all in bondage.

Welcome and benediction, upon this thrilling and joyous occasion, to those who entered earliest into the field of labor; who have gone through with all its toils, its sufferings, its sacrifices, its perils; and who have been graciously permitted to live to see this gladsome day! Welcome and benediction to those who came in at a later period, and to the still newer converts to our cause! Welcome and benediction to all! We may now confidently hope that our labors are drawing near to an end, so far as the abolition of slavery is concerned; but our labors in the field of a common humanity, and in the field of reform, are never to terminate here, except with our mortal lives. With the liberation of the millions in bondage, we are to have a new field of philanthropy opened to us on a colossal scale, that will tax our means, our generosity, our sympathy, our efforts, to the utmost extent, to meet the solemn demands upon us, on the part of those houseless, homeless, pennyless millions, who are coming forth from the house of bondage. That is a work of mercy and benevolence, in the doing of which we believe that the great mass of the people of all denominations, and parties, and sects, will flow together, and be glad to make a common atonement, though at so late a day, for the wrongs and outrages that have been heaped upon those held in brute servitude for so many generations.

One of the Secretaries will now read some of the numerous letters which have been received from those whose circumstances or engagements prevent their being here. Of course, if all who would like to be here could be gratified, it would be the largest meeting ever convened in the city of Philadelphia. Thousands and tens of thousands are regretting that they cannot be with us on this occasion.

The first letter I hold in my hand is from one who deserves to be held in honorable and lasting remembrance for his early, devoted, and long-continued services in our cause; I mean the first President of the American Anti-Slavery Society, once the distinguished merchant-philanthropist of the city of New York, ARTHUR TAPPAN; the benefactor to whom I owe my liberation from the Baltimore prison in 1830; and but for whose interposition at that time, in all probability I never should have left that prison, except to be carried out to be buried. I think it is some twenty years since I had the pleasure of looking into his face. But I could do no less than to send him a letter of invitation to be present at this commemorative meeting, renewing my expression of gratitude for all his kindness to me personally, and my admiration for all he had done in the cause of the oppressed; and I was glad to receive this letter in reply.

The letter was read, as follows, by WENDELL PHILLIPS GARRISON, one of the Secretaries:

NEW HAVEN, Nov. 17, 1863.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Esq.—*Dear Sir*: Few events could give me so much pleasure as the receipt of your note of the 12th inst. During the years that have intervened since we last met, I have often recalled the time when we were united in working for the slave, and regretted that any occurrence should have estranged us from each other.

I shall be glad to attend the meeting at Philadelphia, but my advanced age (78th year) and growing infirmities may prevent. I am very truly your friend,

ARTHUR TAPPAN.

THE PRESIDENT.—The next letter is from one of the signers of the Declaration of Sentiments, a name known and honored throughout the civilized world, *the* poet of America, JOHN G. WHITTIER (applause), who has done so much by his writings as a poet in aid of our glorious movement, that I have no words to express my sense of the value of his services. There are few living who have done so much to operate upon the public mind and conscience and heart of our country for the abolition of slavery, as JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER:

AMESBURY, 24th 11 mo., 1863.

MY DEAR FRIEND: I have received thy kind letter, with the accompanying circular, inviting me to attend the commemoration of the Thirtieth Anniversary of the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at Philadelphia. It is with the deepest regret that I am compelled by the feeble state of my health to give up all hope of meeting thee and my other old and dear friends on an occasion of so much interest. How much it costs me to acquiesce in the hard necessity, thy own feelings will tell thee better than any words of mine.

I look back over thirty years, and call to mind all the circumstances of my journey to Philadelphia in company with thyself and the excellent Dr. Thurston of Maine, even then, as we thought, an old man, but still living and true as ever to the good cause. I recall the early grey morning when, with Samuel J. May, our colleague on the Committee to prepare a Declaration of Sentiments for the Convention, I climbed to the small "upper chamber" of a colored friend to hear thee read the first draft of a paper which will live as long as our national history. I see the members of the Convention, solemnized by the responsibility, rise one by one, and silently affix their names to that stern pledge of fidelity to freedom. Of the signers, many have passed away from earth, a few have faltered and turned back, but I believe the majority still live to rejoice over the great triumphs of truth and justice, and to devote what remains of time and strength to the cause to which they consecrated their youth and manhood thirty years ago.

For, while we may well thank God and congratulate one another on the prospect of the speedy emancipation of the slaves of the United States, we must not for a moment forget that from this hour new and mighty responsibilities devolve upon us to aid, direct and educate these millions, left free, indeed, but bewildered, ignorant, naked and footless in the wild chaos of civil war. We have to undo the accumulated wrongs of two centuries; to remake the manhood that slavery has well-nigh unmade; to see to it that the long-oppressed colored man has a fair field for development and improvement, and to tread under our feet the last vestige of that hateful prejudice which has been the strongest external support of Southern slavery. We must lift ourselves at once to the true Christian altitude where all distinctions of black and white are overlooked in the heartfelt recognition of the brotherhood of man.

I must not close this letter without confessing that I cannot be sufficiently thankful to the Divine Providence which, in a great measure through thy instrumentality, turned me so early away from what Roger Williams calls "the world's great trinity, pleasure, profit and honor," to take side with the poor and oppressed. I am not insensible to literary reputation. I love perhaps too well the praise and good-will of my fellow-men; but I set a higher value on my name as appended to the Anti-Slavery Declaration of 1833 than on the title page of any book. Looking over a life marked by many errors and shortcomings, I rejoice that I have been able to maintain the pledge of that signature; and that, in the long intervening years,

"My voice, though not the loudest, has been heard
Wherever Freedom has raised her cry of pain."

Let me, through thee, extend a warm greeting to the friends, whether of our own or the new generation, who may assemble on the occasion of commemoration. There is work yet to be done which will ask the best efforts of us all. For thyself I need not say that the love and esteem of early boyhood have lost nothing by the test of time, and I am, very cordially, thy friend,

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President A. A. S. Society.

The reading of the above letter was interrupted by the arrival of a delegation of colored soldiers from Camp William Penn, who, as they advanced to the platform, were greeted by a general outburst of applause.

THE PRESIDENT.—The next letter is from a very near, and dear, and revered friend, Hon. SAMUEL FESSENDEN of Portland, Maine, father of Hon. William Pitt Fessenden, who is one of the leading Senators of the United States. He is now, of course, advanced in years; and, having nearly lost his eyesight, is compelled to use an amanuensis in order to have his sentiments recorded. Among a host of friends and coadjutors, I hardly know of one whom I esteem and reverence more than I do SAMUEL FESSENDEN, of Maine. The circumstances in which I became acquainted with him are to me peculiarly touching, as they are certainly enduring in my recollection. I trust he will be spared to witness, before his removal, the utter extermination of slavery from our country, and to join in the song of jubilee.

PORTLAND, Nov. 23, 1863.

MY EVER DEAR FRIEND: It was with very great pleasure that I received your kind notice of me of the 12th of November. You do me but justice in believing that I entertain the same views as I ever did in regard to that dreadful curse, the system of Southern slavery as it has existed and been practiced in the great Southern section of our country, and which we are combating in the present war. That system, in my judgment, most entirely embodies the cruelty of Moloch, the brutality of Belial, and the avarice of Mammon; and while, with you and others, I entertain the same views as to its enormity, I entertain the hope, and I believe I may now say the expectation, that God is about to bring this dreadful enormity, a sin which, next to the crucifixion of the Savior, I esteem the most heinous ever committed by any of the human race, to a speedy and final end.

I might almost say that I regret that the infirmity of eighty years' pilgrimage on earth has made me unable to attend the coming meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, but I am almost totally blind, and it might well be supposed that trembling on the extreme verge of fourscore years, I perceive myself that the powers and faculties of my mind, such as they were, have so far failed as to render me incapable of doing any more for the benefit of the cause which you have so ably advocated—that of the total abolition of slavery in our country.

I shall not probably live to see the total destruction of this accursed system, but feel assured that it must soon take place, and that I now see those glimpses of its approaching end, which enable me with confidence to say, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen of thy salvation," the glory of the people of God and the returning happiness of our suffering country, in the firm establishment and perpetuity of our free institutions.

With sentiments of the most cordial esteem, I am, in the sacred cause of liberty and humanity, truly and faithfully your friend,

SAMUEL FESSENDEN.

TO WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

THE PRESIDENT.—The next letter is from one who was not with us in the early part of our struggle, but who has done a noble service since he joined us some years ago, in the common effort for the emancipation of those in bondage—JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE of Boston.

JAMAICA PLAIN, Nov. 26th, 1863.

DEAR SIR: * * It would give me great pleasure to accept your invitation, which I feel honored in receiving. Unhappily, I can hardly hope to be able to visit Philadelphia at that time. But whether there or elsewhere, I shall in spirit be with you, and shall sympathize with your satisfaction and pride in feeling that the result for which you have labored so long and so earnestly is almost attained. That slavery in America is virtually at an end, I cannot doubt. To the great act of emancipation by the President under his power as Commander-in-Chief—a power given him by the Constitution—is an act proceeding directly from the Constitution itself, and is therefore a part of the highest law known in the land. The Border States, exempted from the operation of that great edict, will themselves, following Missouri and Maryland, decree emancipation as a measure of public policy. Thus slavery is like a tree taken up by the roots—the life not wholly out of it, the leaves perhaps yet green—but its roots are out of the ground, and it must die.

The Society over which you preside has not only reason to congratulate itself that its labors have contributed largely to this great end; but that it has also given a historical proof that no evil, however mighty, no abuse, however deeply rooted, can resist the power of truth and righteousness clearly uttered and perseveringly witnessed to. Every advocate of justice henceforth, however humble he may seem to be, will be encouraged by your success to believe that God by him will fulfil the prophecy which declares that "He shall smite the earth by the rod of His mouth, and by the breath of his lips shall He slay the wicked." So that by your fidelity you have not only helped to put out of the land this gigantic evil and sin, but have also contributed to destroy every other evil and sin which in all time to come shall be brought to an end by the power of truth and justice.

Very truly and faithfully yours,

JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

THE PRESIDENT.—We hoped to have had the pleasure of seeing with us, upon this occasion, three of the most devoted friends of our cause which the struggle has brought forth; I mean THEODORE D. WELD, ANGELINA GRIMKE WELD, and SARAH GRIMKE. The letter which they have jointly sent to us expresses their feelings in regard to this celebration. I need not pass any eulogium upon these devoted friends; for you all know, who know anything of the anti-slavery movement, what they have done for it.

WEST NEWTON, December 1st.

BELOVED FRIENDS: The letter of your Committee invites us to be present, either in person or by letter, to celebrate with you, our third Decade. In place of ourselves, we send a few words of earnest greeting, as our proxy.

The fittest celebration of the past is to gird ourselves anew for the present and the future. The crisis that is upon us speaks its own word. To us that word is this:

This Conspiracy is Slavery. The fiend that planned it, that ripened the plot, and now reeks with its perfidies, perjuries and myriad murders, is *Slavery*—Slavery in arms—the whole of it, and nothing else; its body, soul, and spirit;—the focus of its life and the furnace of its rage;—its mad brain and heart, with all their greeds, plots, and hates, ablaze with the fires of their own hell—every muscle and nerve-fibre on the rack, thought and will strained into spasms and raving in frenzy. By its own act, by God's decree, Slavery's last hour has come, *if the Nation will have it so.* Up from the whole land, from all the earth's ends, the great question comes, million-voiced: "Does the Nation know, will the Nation *do* the thing, that belongs to its peace, and to all human weal?" He that hath ears begins to hear the Nation's solemn voices saying, "We do and we *will.*" Terrible things in righteousness, just retributions for our partnership in the infinite crime and curse, press up these words to-day upon the Nation's lips. We hear in them the voice of God. We see, in the blow about to fall, the bolt of God, striking slavery dead, and burning up its corpse; leaving not a hair of the accursed thing to taint the air, or stain the ground, or bow down one free grass blade, or tether the tiniest rootlet in the soil.

Hitherto, Slavery's intense vital ty has pervaded its whole body; all these life-forces the rebellion has absorbed into itself. From all the extremities they have rushed to their centre. True blows struck *there* deal death to slavery, and to all its dragon-brood—aristocracy, caste, monopoly, class legislation, exclusive privilege and prerogative, all legalized oppression of the weak by the strong, with whatever obstructs "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity." For this, all oppressed peoples now turn their eyes hitherward.

Who that hates slavery and has clear eye-sight does not see that the work of Abolitionists, for this hour, with prayer and pen, with voice and trumpet-blast, with men and money, with all weapons, by all means, in all ways, and with the whole soul, is to strike down this rebellion? It is the mightiest act of slavery to-day. How it is struck down in the District of Columbia, Western Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, and in the Cherokee and Choctaw Nations. See how in Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Florida, Arkansas, Texas, Northern Mississippi and Northern Alabama it reels to-day!

O then, God grant us large vision to see, and high wisdom to do; help us to lay aside every weight, the chronic queries and criticisms, the non-essential ifs and buts that throng the hour; the multiform side-issues that so easily beset, and, in His strength, uplift ourselves all together, to gird anew the Nation's arm, that it may bring down the final blow.

In hope, confidence, deep gratitude, and solemn exultation, faithfully, your fellow-servants,

THEODORE D. WELD,
ANGELINA G. WELD,
SARAH M. GRIMKE.

THE PRESIDENT.—The next letter is from our esteemed and gifted friend, O. B. FROTHINGHAM, of the city of New York:

NEW YORK, Nov. 23, 1863.

MY DEAR FRIEND: I have received and gratefully acknowledge the kind invitation to your grand intellectual and moral banquet in Philadelphia on the 3d and 4th days of December. I anticipate unusual duties and cares just that week, incident to the opening of my church, and sorely I shall miss the treat—invisible, however, if I can help it. For simply to be there on an occasion so saturated with noble memories, earnest thoughts and pure hopes, so bountiful in sentiment and aspiration, would be an era in one's experience. Never was festival so truly a festival in the fine old religious sense—a season of joy dedicated to the gods. For the spirit of Justice, Truth and Love, the primeval Trinity, will itself preside—invisible thousands of the redeemed will rise in ranks around the hall—a cloud of witnesses too numerous for admission, it spirits filled any points of space—and the angels, too, of the great redeemers will glorify the house from floor to ceiling. Only to sit in silence amid such an assembly, and let the tears of gratitude flow from one's eyes, would be a sacramental observance; and with all that to hear the speaking, and on all that again to press the hands that have wrought at this great task for thirty years, and to look into the faces in which so proud a moral triumph is reflected! Well, I won't try say what that would be, but only try to think it will be mine to enjoy in actual fruition and in long memory.

You know, dear Mr. Garrison, that I shall be with you at any rate, even though my presence bodily may be here. You know that I am always with you in your work and in your prayer. You know that I am ever gratefully yours,

O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

THE PRESIDENT.—Here is a letter from Hon. OWEN LOVEJOY, who expresses the hope of being with us to-day. What Mr. Lovejoy has done, in his place in the United States House of Representatives, for a number of years—how he has had to peril his life from session to session, in the midst of slaveholding wrath and violence—and with what a lion-hearted spirit he has triumphantly met the proud oligarchy of the South, represented in that body, you all know.

PRINCETON, Nov. 22d, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: * * * I have some *hope* of being able to be present at your meeting. In the event of my not being able to attend, will you allow me to say that I am in favor of an act of Congress abolishing slavery throughout the entire limits of the United States, and making it a penal offence to hold or claim to hold a slave?

If we have a right to build a Pacific railroad to promote the *general welfare*, without any specific grant of power in the Constitution, how much more have we the right to destroy that which is not only opposed to the general welfare, and to the spirit and genius of the Constitution, but is in constant and now bloody antagonism to every avowed purpose for which that organic law was ordained and established? I am aware that the dogma, or fiction (for it is nothing more), of State sovereignty will be opposed to this legislation. But to this theory of State sovereignty I oppose the words of the Constitution itself: "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." Another mode of reaching the same end would be to take a slave into the United States Supreme Court, and see whether that tribunal dare refuse him freedom under the Constitution. I have never had a doubt that a bench of honest judges would liberate a slave if once in court. I think that was the chief motive for the atrocious Dred Scott decision. The slaveholder dare not confront his slave in that tribunal, if it could be half decently constituted. I shall therefore be with you in spirit, if not in person. I heartily bid you God speed in your efforts to secure obedience to the Divine command which the fathers traced on the bell, which I think still hangs over Independence Hall, in the city where you meet: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

Yours for universal freedom,

OWEN LOVEJOY.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

THE PRESIDENT.—The next letter is from one whom we all delight to honor for his invaluable and long-continued services in behalf of the oppressed, in the Congress of the United States, and out of that body—I mean the Hon. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS of Ohio (applause).

JEFFERSON, November 30, 1863.

MY DEAR GARRISON: I would most gladly unite with the friends of freedom in commemorating the return of our government to the doctrines on which it was founded. For half a century the powers which had been ordained to secure liberty were prostituted to the enslavement of mankind: the powers ordained to secure life were prostituted to the destruction of human existence: and our *free* government was transformed into a slaveholding oligarchy.

Amid the moral and political darkness which then overshadowed our land, the voice of humanity was at length faintly heard. Its utterance became more and more distinct, until at length the high and holy truth, that "all men hold *from the Creator* a right to live, a right to that liberty which is necessary to protect life, acquire knowledge, enjoy happiness, and prepare for heaven," was heard in our congressional halls. A quarter of a century has not yet elapsed since the duty of separating our Federal government and the people of the free States from all support of slavery, was first proclaimed in our National Legislature. The policy was so palpably just, so obviously in accordance with the Constitution, and constituted such a distinct reiteration of the doctrines enunciated by the founders of our institutions, that the advocates of slavery have never attempted to meet it with argument. Threats, intimidation, slander, violence, war and bloodshed have constituted the weapons with which they have attempted to stay the tide of Christian civilization. They have beset the pathway of reform with civil war, with rebellion unequalled in history.

During the last three years our people have raised, armed and sent to the field a million and a quarter of the best soldiers who have ever fought in the cause of freedom, at an expense of fifteen hundred million dollars. In no age, in no clime, have any people made so great or such willing sacrifices for liberty; while the nations of Europe have stood with folded arms, looking upon this mighty conflict, boasting that they took no interest in this war between slavery and freedom, that they neither encouraged the one, nor condemned the other.

Within the last two years, our people have purified themselves from slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia and in our Territories; and the President's Proclamation of Emancipation has repudiated the institution in ten sovereign States, while in four others slavery lingers only in name. Within that time three million degraded bondmen have been legally elevated to the enjoyment of those rights which the Creator bestowed upon them. Heaven itself may well rejoice, and all good men will thank God, take courage, and reengage in the great work with increased zeal.

I regret to say that from the length of time and the severity of my own labors, I have fainted, fallen and been borne from the field of conflict, but as I linger upon the verge of time, I still rest my dimmed vision upon the battle as it still rages, and my last prayer shall be for the heroes of justice and liberty.

I pray you to express to the members of your Society the assurance of my affectionate regard.

Very faithfully your friend,

JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS.

THE PRESIDENT.—The next letter is from one who entered into the anti-slavery field at an earlier period than almost any of us. Long before my own mind was turned to this subject, he had fully comprehended it, and bravely and faithfully bore an uncompromising testimony for the abolition of slavery. His name deserves to be held in lasting remembrance. I allude to Rev. JOHN RANKIN, of Ohio.

RIPLEY, Ohio, Nov. 19, 1863.

MR. GARRISON—*Dear Sir*: Your invitation to attend the thirtieth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society has been received. I regret that I am not in circumstances that will enable me to be present at your meeting. You and I have ever been united on the subject of immediate emancipation, while we have widely differed in other respects. I feel that my labors must soon close. I am now in the seventy-first year of my age, and, of course, must soon go the way of all past generations. From my boyhood to the present time, I have opposed the abominable system of American slavery. For the liberation of the slaves I have labored long, and suffered much reproach and persecution; but I regret none of the sacrifices I have made for the hapless millions that have been bought and sold as if beasts of the field, and deprived of all that makes existence desirable. Nearly forty years have passed away since I began to warn this nation of the ruin that would result from this horrible system of oppression, but now the day of blood has come. The Son of God has come with his rod of iron and dashed those slaveholding governments in pieces as a potter's vessel is broken; and has made the General government tremble on its foundation. "True and righteous are thy judgments, O Lord."

I greatly rejoice in the President's proclamation. No other man ever had the privilege of making a proclamation so magnificent. It is to lift more than three million people from the deepest degradation and misery to dignified life and station as rational beings. And although it is not broad enough to cover the whole field of oppression, yet it is the fiat that will end the system. He that is higher than the heavens has ordained it, and our brave soldiers in the field are the armies of the Living God to enforce it. Let us thank God and take courage; and not relax our efforts while there is a slave in the land.

JOHN RANKIN.

THE PRESIDENT.—We have still a large number of letters that you would be pleased to hear, some of which will be read at other sessions, as time may allow. The only additional one that will now be submitted is from Hon. O. W. ALBEE, of Massachusetts, who, in the Legislature of that State, has done important service for our cause.

MARLBORO', Nov. 12, 1863.

MR. GARRISON—*Dear Sir*: Your circular of the 12th inst. has been received. I deem it a high honor to be thought worthy of an invitation to the meeting in the city of Philadelphia to commemorate the Thirtieth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society; but circumstances will, I fear, prevent my attending it.

In the year 1830 or 1831, whilst a student in Brown University, I chanced to read some sheets printed by yourself in Boston. The sheets were not large nor the paper very fine; but suffice it to say, they contained facts that settled the question of emancipation with me. Since that hour I have been an unwavering anti-slavery man; and if I have done any good service in the glorious cause of emancipation, let God and William Lloyd Garrison be thanked.

Very truly yours,

O. W. ALBEE.

HENRY C. WRIGHT offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the voice of the people is heard through petitions to Congress; and this Convention earnestly recommend that this voice be raised in petitions for an amendment of the Constitution, declaring that slavery shall be forever prohibited within the limits of the United States.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to prepare such a petition, and procure the signature of every member of this Convention to the same, before its final adjournment.

Mr. WRIGHT stated that the first resolution had been presented to him by one of the leading members of the U. S. Senate, who would probably at an early day introduce the subject in his place in that body.

The resolutions were referred to the Business Committee.

Speech of Rev. W. H. Furness.

Rev. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, of Philadelphia, spoke as follows:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I am reminded of the first time that I had the honor of standing upon the anti-slavery platform with you. You may not remember it; but it was upon the occasion when our friends, Frederick Douglass and Sam. Ward so magnificently vindicated the ability of the black man. Then you were surrounded in the gallery behind you, by Isaiah Rynders and his crew. If you had been told then, sir, that some few years afterwards you would be standing upon an anti-slavery platform with a file of black soldiers behind you, what would have been your explanation of the prophecy? That the blacks had risen in insurrection, and that you were protected by your friends.

I am not in form a member of the National Anti-Slavery Society. The Society had not long existed before it communicated to me the information that I was already the President of an Abolition Society called a Christian Church; and I have felt myself bound to keep in my own sphere, and to try and bring my little Abolition Society upon the true platform; and that is the reason why I never officially belonged to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Again, I feel very reluctant to claim to be an Abolitionist, because I think it is a very high pretension for a man to make. I am perfectly willing to bear the obloquy of the name; but it looks like pride, and may imply a want of self-knowledge for a man to claim with confidence that he is a genuine, thoroughgoing Garrisonian Abolitionist. Under these circumstances I esteem myself honored, inasmuch as I have been invited to read to you the "Declaration of Sentiments" upon which this Society was founded; a Declaration made in this city thirty years ago, and second only in time to the Declaration of 1776.

[Dr. F. here read, in a most impressive manner, the Declaration of Sentiments, adopted at the formation of the Society; after which he proceeded:]

I am informed that of these sixty signers and upwards, only 15 have now died, when the anticipation here expressed has been realized. The large body of the signers live to witness the triumph of liberty, justice and humanity.

You all know what have been the weapons of our friends in the great war in which they have been engaged. If our country had responded to these sentiments thirty years ago, as they responded to the tidings of the attack upon Fort Sumter, slavery would have been utterly abolished by this time without the shedding of a single drop of blood. But there is a homely proverb, that it is in vain to talk about what might have been, or what should have been. Blood is running like water, and the consolation and reward of our friends is, that when the South broke out in brutal assault upon the life of the nation, that the nation was so well prepared for the hour was due in great part to the fidelity with which our friends have redeemed the pledges they gave in this Declaration, in forming Anti-slavery Societies throughout all the North, and in sending everywhere anti-slavery information.

I confess there are very strong points of resemblance between the Abolitionists of the North and the conspirators of the South. Our friends at the North, thirty years ago, undertook to fire the Northern heart, insensible to the fact that they were in danger of firing the Southern heart at the same time. So, also, a few years ago, the leading conspirators at the South undertook to fire the Southern heart, never dreaming what a tremendous fire they were going to kindle in the Northern heart. So that in this respect, the Abolitionists of the North and the Fire-eaters of the South resembled each other; with this difference: that the Abolitionists undertook to kindle the Northern heart with fire from Heaven; the Fire-eaters undertook to kindle the Southern heart with fire from—the other place (applause).

Speech of William Lloyd Garrison.

On the Fourth of July, 1776, our fathers put their names to the Declaration of American Independence. They testified before the world, in that manner, to their acceptance of certain "self-evident truths" contained in that Declaration; and, therefore, that there could be no violation of them without guilt. Now, it is one thing to speak the word of liberty, but a very different thing to keep it. Our fathers proclaimed the truth. Did they adhere to it? Did they proceed to carry out honestly and impartially their own heaven-attested sentiments? No; they were content to leave in bondage, as a matter of compromise, 600,000 slaves, who have since multiplied by natural generation to 4,000,000. They did not dare wholly to trust in God; and hence they were left to enter into a covenant with slaveholders, which in 1860 naturally broke out in bloody rebellion.

Thirty years ago, the Declaration to which you have just listened was issued by a small body assembled in this city, and the signatures of the members present were appended to the instrument. The result was the immediate formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which adopted that Declaration as the basis upon which all its action should rest. Has the Society been true to its principles and sentiments? I feel I can truly say that it has been faithful and uncompromising from the beginning till now; that we have not yielded one jot or tittle of any of our demands; that in all trials, in all discouragements, in the hottest persecution, we have been faithful to our cause, and to the victims whose advocates we professed to be.

Is there anything in this Declaration that any honest man could object to? Is there anything in it opposed to the principles of justice, mercy, or brotherly love? How has it come to pass, then, that the proclamation of those sentiments has filled the land for a whole generation with violence and persecution? How is it that, during all that time, the Abolitionists have been held up as fanatics, madmen and incendiaries, who ought not to be tolerated in the utterance of their thoughts? How has the nation been torn and tormented by the anti-slavery agitation? Yet we uttered no new truths, advanced no strange ideas, made no unreasonable demands. What has just been read to us has been reiterated in substance from age to age, ever since tyranny commenced its reign upon earth. It is a collection of the merest truisms; that man is man, and not a beast; that there is an everlasting distinction between a mere animal and an immortal soul; that the laborer should have his just reward; that all should be protected by equal laws; and that oppression should not be tolerated in any part of our land or world. We have been called "fanatics and incendiaries" for uttering sentiments like these. They who have opposed us—blindly it may be in many instances, wickedly in others—have been guilty of fanaticism and incendiarism. Justice was upon our side; reason and mercy were with us; and the God of all flesh nerved our spirits to the conflict.

Allow me to take this opportunity to say, that there is one interpolation in the Declaration of Sentiments which I did not like at the time, and which I have never liked since. An esteemed friend in the Convention thought it would take off the edge, a little, of one of the statements, if we would verify it by a reference to Scripture. As originally written it stood thus:

"That every American citizen, who retains a human being in involuntary bondage as his property, is a man-stealer."

But this was amended so as to read:

"That every American citizen who retains a human being in involuntary bondage as his property is (according to Scripture, Exodus xxi., 16) a man-stealer."

That weakens, instead of strengthening it. It raises a Biblical question. It makes the rights of man to depend upon a text. Now, it matters not what the Bible may say, so far as the rights of man are concerned. Those rights never originated in any parchment, are not dependent upon any parchment, but are in the nature of man himself, written upon the human faculties and powers by the finger of God. It matters not, though all the books in the universe, claiming to be ever so sacred and holy, should declare that man has not a natural and an inaliable right to himself. Those words would only deserve to be given to the consuming fire (applause.) We do not base this cause upon any book. We base it upon man, upon God in man; and it will stand invulnerable, whether we can prove or not, by mere texts of Scripture, that a man has a right to his own body and his own soul.

I believe that if the Bible denounces any one sin more than any other, it denounces the sin of oppression; if it represents God as being particularly incensed in his moral nature, it is in view of the treatment of the poor and the needy and the outcast. "Wash you; make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes. Cease to do evil, learn to do well; seek judgment; relieve the oppressed; undo the heavy burdens; break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free."

I have never hesitated to make use of the Bible as a mighty weapon for the beating down of slavery; but not to settle the question of the right or the wrong of slavery by the Bible, or any other book. Slavery is a self-evident wrong.

It will be seen from this

and baseness, it has been necessary to rally the country against a rebellion, *whose single object is the exaltation of slavery*. Never before in history was there a war so necessary and just as that which we are compelled to wage, and never before was there a war which promised such transcendent results.

It is only when the rebellion is seen in its true light, as *slavery in arms*, seeking dominion and recognition—at home and abroad—that we can find the true measure of our duties. Of course, every concession to the rebellion—all parley with it—is a voluntary assumption of its guilt.

You and your associates have stood firm for many years. Such pious fidelity must have its reward in an approving conscience; but it cannot be forgotten hereafter on earth or in heaven.

And may God continue to bless the good cause, and to bless you, who have labored so nobly.

Believe me, my dear sir, with much regard, very faithfully yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Esq.

THE PRESIDENT.—The last letter to be read this afternoon is from one of the signers of the Declaration, SIMEON S. JOCELYN, now of New York. I became acquainted with him as soon as I entered into the anti-slavery cause, and found him one of the warmest and truest friends of that time. He has labored from that hour to the present unceasingly in the cause. I found him preaching to a small congregation of colored people in New Haven; his sympathies having been drawn out at a very early period towards that class of people in our land.

NEW YORK, Dec. 2, 1863.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Esq.—*Dear Sir*: Your kind invitation to me to be present at the Third Decade of the American Anti-Slavery Society was duly received, for which please receive my thanks.

I have hoped to be present on the occasion so deeply interesting to those of us who, thirty years ago, under circumstances of great solemnity, adopted the memorable Declaration of Sentiment and purpose (drawn by your own hand), and consecrated ourselves to the work of securing, under Divine Providence, the liberty of the millions of our colored brethren in this land under the most terrible bondage known upon earth.

I find it impossible for me to be present on the first day of the convocation, and, at this late hour I can but feebly hope that I may be with you on Friday, such is the pressure of duty here this week connected with the cause among he Freedmen at many points.

May the season be to all one of precious remembrances, devout thanksgiving, and the most earnest renewal of purpose and effort for the complete extirpation of slavery, and thereby the overthrow of the rebellion, the salvation of the country, and the relief, instruction and perpetual elevation and blessing of the millions rushing from the house of bondage, now opened by the God of the oppressed, who has "made bare His arm" for their deliverance.

I have the utmost confidence that the decree of freedom for three million of the enslaved in rebel States, by President Lincoln, will never be revoked, but that the proclamation of liberty "to all the inhabitants of the land" is early in order. But the hydra-headed monster will struggle to the death; and the object contemplated by the meeting, and the Society, to move the whole people, and through them the government, to the issue; together with every possible labor of all the friends of God and humanity, will all be demanded, with judgments and repentance, ere the desired results will be attained.

But with gratitude, courage and joy let us still "press the battle to the gate." May the Divine favor attend your deliberations, and crown the doings of the Convention with untold blessings upon the oppressed and their benefactors.

Truly yours, S. S. JOCELYN.

THE PRESIDENT announced that the next speaker would be J. MILLER MCKIM, one of the signers of the Declaration of Sentiments; adding that he had requested Mr. McKim to give some reminiscences of the origin and early days of the anti-slavery enterprise.

Speech of J. Miller McKim.

I comply cheerfully with your request, Mr. Chairman, though the task it assigns me is not in all respects an easy one. To look back upon the origin of this Society, and run the eye down its course to the present time, and then submit the reminiscences suggested; and to do it all in the space of a single short speech, is a task requiring powers of condensation beyond my pretensions.

There is another difficulty about it. To give an account of a movement with which one's own personal history—at least in his own mind—is inseparably identified, without violating one of the first rules of good taste in a speaker, demands a degree of phraseological skill which but few possess. The word *I* is perhaps the ugliest as well as the shortest in the English language. It is a word which careful parents teach their children never to use—either in the nominative, possessive or objective case—except on compulsion. And yet it is a word without which *I* can't possibly get on in the duty you have assigned me.

But having accepted my part, I accept also its conditions. And this I do all the more readily from certain advantages likely to accrue from it. "From one learn all," the adage says. The history of one Abolitionist, howsoever humble, even though it be for a day, is the history, to that extent, of every other Abolitionist—and of the cause. There are people here, doubtless, who are ignorant of the character of Abolitionism and Abolitionists. Let us for once, Mr. Chairman, give them an inside view. Let us lay aside reserve and speak with a freedom which in other circumstances would hardly be justifiable.

Thirty-one years ago this witness was a student at Andover Theological Seminary. While there, a desire, which, for more than a year, had consumed him, culminated into a purpose. In the depths of his soul and before God he consecrated himself to the work of a missionary among the heathen. What his precise motives were it is not necessary here to inquire. That they were of a mixed character, partaking not a little of the ardor and romance of youth, subsequent reflection has left no room to doubt.

There was another student at the Seminary, whose views and feelings were in harmony with my own, and who joined in this vow of self-consecration. His name was Daniel E. Jewett. I mention him for reasons which will presently be obvious.

I had been at Andover but a short time—less than two months—when a severe domestic affliction—the death of my eldest brother—called me away; and I returned to my home in Carlisle, in this State, where I had been born and bred.

For two or three years previous to the period now referred to, the country—a very considerable portion of it—had been in a state of high religious excitement. Everywhere people's attention was directed with unusual earnestness to the subject of personal religion. Since the days of Whitfield, it was said, there had been no excitement equal to it in depth and intensity, but toward the latter part of 1833 this excitement began to subside. The "revivals," as they were called, which followed this period, and which were got up by the machinery of "protracted meetings" and other appliances, were, for the most part, mere imitations—simulations; without depth and without earnestness.

With the subsidence of this religious excitement in the country, the feelings of the sincere and enlightened who had shared in it began to take a new turn. Their attention was called away from themselves to the condition of others. They had made sufficient progress in the divine life to understand that cardinal injunction: "Let no man seek his own, but every one his neighbor's weal."

About this time I happened one day, in a barber-shop, to pick up a newspaper, the columns of which I found filled with discussions of the subject of slavery. It was a question to which my attention had never before been directed. The paper interested me exceedingly. Its vigor of style and the boldness of its argument were striking. It was *The Liberator*. I took it home with me, read it carefully, and came back the next day to talk about it. An argument arose between me and the barber, in which that gentleman had greatly the advantage. He gave me a book to take home with me; it was a thick pamphlet, of about the size and appearance of *The Atlantic Monthly*, and was entitled "Thoughts on Colonization." Its author was Wm. Lloyd Garrison. I read it at one sitting. The scales fell from my eyes. The whole truth was revealed to me. The evil of slavery, the vulgar cruelty of prejudice against color, the duty of the country and of every man in it toward the black man, were as plain as if they had been written out before me in letters of fire. From that time to this I have been an Abolitionist. From that time to this I have regarded my friend John Peck, the colored barber, as one of my best benefactors.

In the latter part of 1833, I learned that there was to be a Convention in Philadelphia for the purpose of forming a National Anti-Slavery Society. This information I derived from my Andover friend, Daniel E. Jewett. He wrote to me, begging that I would come to the meeting. He dwelt feelingly upon the condition of the two and a quarter million (that was the figure then) of our unoffending fellow-men held in bondage, and urged me not to be insensible to their claims. "How do you know, my brother," he said, "that this may not be the work to which you have, unconsciously, dedicated yourself? How do you know that this is not the very field which your yearnings have been foreshadowing?"

I laid what he said to heart, and determined to attend the Convention. The little band of pronounced Abolitionists in Carlisle—all of whom were black except myself—appointed me a delegate, and I set off for the city. It was in the day of stage-coaches, before the new era of railroads, and I was two days in coming. I stopped at the "Indian Queen," in 4th street, then considered one of our best hotels. The style of caravansera known as the "first class hotel" was not then known—out of Boston. Your "Tremont House," I believe, was at that time in the full tide of successful experiment. I lost no time the next morning after my arrival in presenting myself, according to directions, at the house of Friend Evan Lewis in 5th street, above Cherry. Mr. Lewis was editor of a Quaker anti-slavery journal called *The Advocate of Truth*. He was a faithful friend of the cause, as well as one of the most prominent at that time in Philadelphia. With friend Lewis I went to the Convention. It met at the Adelphi Building in 5th street, below Walnut. Its proceedings were not secret, though they were nevertheless not thrown open by advertisement to the public. There were some sixty or seventy delegates present, and a few spectators, who had been especially invited. A small number, it will be said, for a National Convention. But at that time it must be remembered the movement was in its incipiency. The cloud of abolitionism was not even so big as a man's hand. Now it covers the heavens!

When I entered the hall—which was on the morning of the second day—the proceedings had begun; though, as I soon learned, there was no specific business before the meeting. A Committee had been appointed the day before, consisting of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Samuel J. May, Edwin P. Atlee and others, to draw up a Declaration of Sentiments; and the Convention was now expecting their report. While waiting, Dr. Abraham L. Cox read a poem addressed to Garrison, written by John G. Whittier, at that time a young author, comparatively unknown to fame. You remember the piece:

"Champion of those who groan beneath
Oppression's iron band,
In view of penury, hate and death,
I see thee fearless stand.

* * * * *

"I love thee with a brother's love:
I feel my pulses thrill
To mark thy spirit soar above
The cloud of human ill."

After the poem Lewis Tappan arose and delivered a glowing eulogy upon Mr. Garrison. He related two very striking anecdotes, which, though I remember them distinctly, I shall not, in this presence, repeat. He concluded by saying that it had not been his purpose to eulogize Mr. Garrison; that what he said was said in no spirit of panegyric, but as a matter of fidelity to truth and to the cause. Mr. Garrison had been struck at as a representative of the cause. It was our duty, he said, to repel these assaults; to vindicate our faithful pioneer from the calumnies and misrepresentations of the enemy, and to stand by him "through evil report and through good report."

This was the first specimen I had had of what has since been called "mutual admiration." And here let me say that the charge implied in the use made of this phrase is without just foundation. When Abolitionists praise their representative men, it is for the reason suggested by Mr. Tappan. It is to defend them against the shafts of pro-slavery malice and calumny. It is from a sacred regard to truth and the interests and honor of the cause; and in no spirit of adulation, "mutual" or otherwise.

And—if you will allow me still further to digress—I will add that the charge against us of using needlessly hard and denunciatory language is equally without foundation. Why, sir, last night, while Mr. Garrison was speaking, several gentlemen—new converts to the cause—left the house because the speaker was too tame. Their hate of slavery and slaveholders, and all that belongs to the system, is so intense, that Mr. Garrison's terms of condemnation were not strong enough to relieve their minds. They are of a class whom the speaker sometimes met, one of whom on a certain occasion represented himself as belonging to the "Five Nations." He was a gentlemanly, mild-looking person—anything but a savage in appearance—and being asked what he meant by so styling himself, he explained by saying, he was for giving the rebel slaveholders "confiscation, emancipation, ruination, extirpation and *damnation*."

Parson Brownlow, also a new convert to the cause—the same that once persecuted the saints—is of this class. He is represented as saying that he is "for giving the slaveholding rebels "Greek fire" in this world and *hell fire* in the next.

Now, Mr. Chairman, this is not the language, nor is it the spirit of the old Abolitionists. The charge of using hard and acrimonious language lies not properly at our door.

But to return from my digression: Mr. Tappan's speech was interrupted by the announcement that Mr. Garrison and the rest of the Committee were coming in with their report. They had prepared a draft of a Declaration, and it devolved upon Dr. Edwin P. Atlee to read it. After the reading, followed criticism of its contents; or rather criticism of some of its phrases; for, as a whole, the paper commended itself at once to all who heard it. Thomas Shipley, that good man and faithful friend of the slave, objected to the word "manstealer" as applied indiscriminately to the slaveholders. To this it was replied that the term was an eminently proper one; that it described the exact relation between the master and the slave. It was urged that things should be called by their right names; that Luther had said he would "call a hoe, a hoe; and a spade, a spade." Besides, it was added, it was a scriptural phrase, and the chapter and verse were quoted in which it was used. This mollified friend Shipley, though it did not set his mind entirely at rest. At length some one suggested that the term should be retained, but that it should be preceded by the words "according to Scripture." This met the difficulty, and the paper was amended so as to read: "Every American citizen who holds a human being in involuntary bondage as his property, is, *according to Scripture* (Exodus 21, 16), a man-stealer."

Among the speakers, while the Declaration was under discussion, were two who interested me particularly. One was a countryman dressed in the plainest garb, and in appearance otherwise not particularly calculated to excite expectation. His manner was angular, and his rhetoric not what would be called graceful. But his matter was solid, and as clear as a bell. It had the ring of the genuine metal, and was moreover pat to the point in question. When he sat down—which he did after a very brief speech—the question was asked: "Who is that?" and the answer came: "Thomas Whitson of Lancaster County, in this State."

The other speaker was a woman. I had never before heard a woman speak at a public meeting. She said but a few words, but these were spoken so modestly, in such sweet tones, and yet withal so decisively, that no one could fail to be pleased. And no one did fail to be pleased. She apologized for what might be regarded as an intrusion; but she was assured by the Chairman and others that what she had said was very acceptable. The Chairman added his hope that "the lady" would not hesitate to give expression to anything that might occur to her during the course of the proceedings.

This debate on the Declaration took place in Committee of the Whole. After one or two other slight verbal changes the Committee arose and reported the document to the Convention. It was adopted unanimously, and ordered to be engrossed. The next morning, being the last session of the Convention, it was brought in engrossed and ready for signature. Before the work of signing began it was agreed that it should be read once more. The task was assigned to our friend Samuel J. May, who performed it with much feeling. At times his emotion was such as to prevent him for awhile from proceeding. The same feeling pervaded the audience. Then followed informally the ceremony of signing. Each one, as he came up to put his name to the instrument, showed by his manner, and, in some instances, by his words, that he was doing a very solemn thing.

By this time I had come to be tolerably well acquainted with the Convention, both as a whole and in its individual members. My part in the proceedings had been, and was to the end, a silent one. The only distinction I enjoyed was that of being the youngest member of the body.

Looking back upon this interesting occasion, the whole thing comes up before me with the distinctness of a picture. I see the Convention just as it sat in that little hall of the Adelphi Building. I see the President, Beriah Green, of Oneida Institute, sitting on an eminence in the west end of the hall; at either side of him the two Secretaries, Lewis Tappan and John G. Whittier.

Mr. Green, though as it proved one of the best men that could have been had for the office, was not the person originally contemplated for Chairman. The Abolitionists at that time, like other people, had an idea that a Convention would not be a Convention without a man with a great name to serve as Chairman. Therefore when the delegates came to Philadelphia, the first thing they did was to cast about for some man of distinction to preside. They called on Thomas Wistar, a venerable and wealthy member of the Society of Friends; but he declined. They then waited upon Mr. Robert Vaux, an aged and highly respected citizen, whose social position and reputation as a philanthropist indicated him as a proper person to preside over the meeting. He received the Committee politely and listened to them courteously. He sympathized with them in their general object; he was opposed to slavery, and would be glad to see it abolished; but—and then followed the usual objections; and in short, while grateful for the honor rendered him, Mr. Vaux begged leave respectfully to decline.

Discouraged in their attempts to find a great man for Chairman, the delegation concluded to select for this purpose one of their own number; and the choice fell upon Beriah Green. A better man could not have been selected. Though of plain exterior and unimposing presence, Mr. Green was a man of learning and superior ability; in every way above the average of so-called men of eminence.

Mr. Tappan, who sat at his right, was a jaunty, man-of-the-world-looking person; well dressed and handsome; with a fine voice and taking appearance. Whittier, who sat at his left, was quite as fine looking, though in a different way. He wore a dark frock coat with standing collar, which—with his black hair, dark and sometimes flashing eyes, and black whiskers—not large, but noticeable in those unhirsute days—gave him, to my then unpractised eye, quite as much of a military as a Quaker aspect. His broad, square forehead, and well cut features, aided by his incipient reputation as a poet, made him quite a noticeable feature in the Convention.

These were the officers of the meeting; the rest were all upon a dead level of equality. There were no distinctions tolerated among the members. At an early stage of the proceedings it was determined that no titles should be given or received: no Honorables, Doctors, or Esquires. Men were to be recognized as men, and all factitious distinctions discarded. It was a *levelling* Convention, in the best sense of that word.

It is impossible, Mr. Chairman, to look back upon those days without noticing that time with his remorseless scythe has been at his inevitable work. Death has thinned our numbers. Some of the best members of that Convention have gone to their rest. Among these was good Thomas Shipley, whose departure Whittier has so beautifully commemorated:

"Gone to thy Heavenly Father's rest,
The flowers of Eden round thee blowing,
And on thine ear the murmurs blest
Of Siloa's waters gently flowing.

* * * * * * *

"O loved of thousands! to thy grave,
Sorrowing of heart, thy brethren bore thee;
The poor man and the rescued slave
Wept as the broken earth closed o'er thee."

Evan Lewis, another of the Philadelphia delegates, took his departure soon after the holding of the Convention. He was an able and faithful friend of the cause and performed his part well. Though dead, he yet speaketh. She who was the partner of his toils while he lived remains to finish the task which they had jointly undertaken; and the mantle of the father has in a good measure fallen upon the shoulders of his children.

Dr. Edwin Atlee, the younger, another Philadelphia member of the Convention, passed early from the scene of conflict. Faithful and true to the cause while he lived, he left, in his good name, an inheritance of which his children may well be proud, and which should ever be a stimulus to them in works of well doing.

Of the members of the Convention who remain I shall not speak. Quite a number are here to speak for themselves. Among them I may be excused for mentioning the three who are respectively the President and Vice-Presidents of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society; James Mott, Robert Purvis, and Thomas Whitson.

Mr. Mott, when I saw him at the Adelphi building thirty years ago, was in the prime of manhood. He was tall, and as straight as an arrow; his sandy hair untouched by the frosts of time. Thomas Whitson was also in the prime of life; tall, hearty and progressive. His full shock of stubborn brown hair showed that he had not yet reached the climax of his vigor. He was stalwart in body and robust in mind, and ready for a tussle with any opponent. Mr. Purvis was in the full bloom of opening manhood; ardent, impetuous, and overflowing with enthusiasm. You will remember the speech he made, Mr. Chairman—so exactly like himself, impassioned, full of invective, bristling with epithets, denouncing "that diabolical and fiendish system of atrocity, American slavery, and that equally rapacious, and, if possible, still more detestable scheme, the infamous Colonization Society."

At that Convention there were no adjournments for dinner. We sat daily from 10 o'clock a.m. till dark, without recess. We had meat to eat which those who have never been "caught up into the third heaven of first principles" wot not of. The last hours of the Convention were especially impressive. I had never before, nor have I ever since witnessed anything fully equal to it. The deep religious spirit which had pervaded the meeting from the beginning became still deeper. The evidence of the Divine presence and the Divine approval were palpable. Had we heard a voice saying, "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the ground whereon thou standest is holy ground," our convictions could scarcely have been clearer.

Those who were there will never forget the address with which President Green closed the Convention. The concluding part of that address was somewhat as follows:

"Brethren, it has been good to be here. In this hallowed atmosphere I have been revived and refreshed. This brief interview has more than repaid me for all that I have ever suffered. I have here met congenial minds; I have rejoiced in sympathies delightful to the soul. Heart has beat responsive to heart, and the holy work of seeking to benefit the outraged and despised has proved the most blessed employment.

"But now we must retire from these balmy influences and breathe another atmosphere. The chill hoar frost will be upon us. The storm and tempest will rise and the waves of persecution will dash against our souls. Let us be prepared for the worst. Let us fasten ourselves to the throne of God as with hooks of steel. If we cling not to Him our names to that document will be but as dust.

"Let us court no applause; indulge in no spirit of vain boasting. Let us be assured that our only hope in grappling with the bony monster is in an Arm that is stronger than ours. Let us fix our gaze on God and walk in the light of His countenance. If our cause be just—and we know it is—His omnipotence is pledged to its triumph. Let this cause be entwined around the very fibres of our hearts. Let our hearts *grow* to it, so that nothing but death can sunder the bond."

As Mr. Green finished he lifted up his voice in prayer; and such a prayer is rarely heard. Its fervency and faith seemed to illustrate what the speaker had said about "taking hold of the throne as with hooks of steel," and "gazing upon the very face of God."

But, Mr. Chairman, I have been speaking for three quarters of an hour, and have as yet scarcely touched the threshold of my subject. Reminiscences! They come upon me so thick and fast that the whole time of this Convention would not suffice to give them expression. Here I have been lingering over *a few* of the incidents of the first three days of the great anti slavery epoch; what shall I say of the whole 30 years which have followed, every day of which has been freighted with an event; every hour with some striking incident!

I must now stop and give place to others. I have already consumed more than my fair share of the time. We have more than a score of able speakers here, every one of whom has a prescriptive right to be heard. So, without further words, I abruptly close.

At the request of Mr. Garrison, the signers of the Declaration of Sentiments arose, and the following were found to be present: Isaac Winslow, Orson S. Murray, William Lloyd Garrison, Samuel Joseph May, Robert Purvis, Bartholomew Fussell, Enoch Mack, James Miller McKim, Thomas Whitson, James Mott, James McCrummell.

SAMUEL J. MAY.—There were others who were members of the Convention, whose names were not signed to the Declaration; and I look back with a feeling of shame to the fact that there were four or five women—Lucretia Mott, Esther Moore, Lydia White, Sidney Ann Lewis—who did us good service, who spoke, and spoke always to the purpose; and I remember that in one or two instances they relieved us from difficulties into which we had got ourselves in the discussion. Perfectly well I remember them. Why were their names not signed to the Declaration? It shows that we were in the dark on the subject. But their names should always go down to posterity as active members of the Convention; and I desire that they should be remembered as having taken an active and important part with us.

MARY GREW.—Why were their names not signed?

MR. MAY.—Because we had no conception of the rights of women. Because it would then have been thought to be an impropriety, a thought at which we all laugh now.

MR. GARRISON.—To show the spirit which prevailed in that Convention, of unusual liberality certainly for those times, let me read two resolutions therein adopted:

Resolved, That the cause of abolition eminently deserves the countenance and support of American women, inasmuch as one million of their colored sisters are pining in abject servitude—as their example and influence operate measurably as laws to society—and as the exertions of the females of Great Britain have been signally instrumental in liberating eight hundred thousand slaves in the Colonies.

Resolved, That we hail the establishment of Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies as the harbinger of a brighter day, and that we feel great confidence in the efficiency of their exertions, and that those ladies who have promptly come forth in this great work are deserving the thanks of those who are ready to perish.

You remember that in 1840, our friend, then Miss Abby Kelley, was placed on our Business Committee, and the American Anti-Slavery Society was broken asunder and almost entirely shipwrecked. But we have got bravely over it; and now there is no question in any part of our country that is free, in regard to the right of woman to speak as man speaks, and to be heard.

LUCRETIA MOTT.—I deem it but just to state, that although we were not recognized as a part of the Convention by signing the document, yet every courtesy was shown to us, every encouragement to speak, or to make any suggestions, of alterations in the document, or any others. I do not think it occurred to any one of us at that time that there would be a propriety in our signing the document. In the evening, at our house, I remember a conversation with our friend Samuel J. May, in the course of which I remarked, that we could not expect that women should be fully recognized in such assemblages as that, while the monopoly of the pulpit existed. It was with diffidence, I acknowledge, that I ventured to express what had been near to my heart for so many years, for I knew that we were there by sufferance. It was after the Convention had gathered on the second day that the invitation was sent out. Thomas Whitson came to our house with an invitation to women to come there as spectators or as listeners. I felt such a desire that others than those assembled at our own house should hear, that I wanted to go here and there and notify persons to go; but I was asked not to use up the whole morning in notifying others, for we must try and be there ourselves. When I rose to speak, with the knowledge that we were there by sufferance, and it would be only a liberty granted that I should attempt to express myself, such was the readiness with which that freedom was granted, that it inspired me with a little more boldness to speak on other subjects.

When this Declaration, that has been read to us here to-day, and that we have so often delighted to hear, was under consideration, and we were considering our principles and our intended measures of action; when our friends felt that they were planting themselves on the truths of Divine revelation, and on the Declaration of our Independence, as an Everlasting Rock, it seemed to me, as I heard it read, that the climax would be better to transpose the sentence, and place the Declaration of Independence first and the truths of Revelation last, as the Everlasting Rock; and I proposed it. I remember hearing one of the younger members, Daniel E. Jewett, turn to see what woman there was there who knew what the word "transpose" meant (laughter).

It has been honestly confessed that there was not at that time a conception of the rights of woman. Indeed women little knew their own influence, or the proper exercise of their own rights. I remember that it was urged upon us, immediately after that Convention, to form a Female Anti-Slavery Society; and at that time I had no idea of the meaning of preambles and resolutions and votings. Women had never been in any assemblies of the kind. I had only attended one Convention—a Convention of colored people in this State—before that; and that was the first time in my life I had ever heard a vote taken, being accustomed to our Quaker way of getting the prevailing sentiment of the meeting. When, a short time after, we came together to form the Female Anti-Slavery Society, which I am rejoiced to say is still extant, still flourishing, there was not a woman capable of taking the chair and organizing that meeting in due order; and we had to call on James McCrummell, a colored man, to give us aid in the work. You know that at that time, and even to the present day, negroes, idiots, and women were in legal documents classed together; so that we were very glad to get one of our own class (laughter) to come and aid us in forming that Society.

MARY GREW read the following paper:

Annals of Women's Anti-Slavery Societies.

The trumpet call which, thirty years ago, summoned the American people to moral warfare against the system of American slavery, aroused in the souls of a few earnest women a consciousness of personal responsibility for the existence of that great national sin, and a consciousness of power to promote its overthrow. They clearly perceived, both intellectually and spiritually, that the truth of the inherent sinfulness of slavery, and the correlative right and duty between the slave and his master, of immediate emancipation, were the only principles which could permanently vivify an enterprise for the destruction of a system intimately inwrought with the political, religious, and social life of the nation. Their first step was to organize themselves for effective effort for the promulgation of these truths.

Previous to the organization of the American Anti-Slavery Society, two Female Anti-Slavery Societies were formed in Massachusetts; the first, in Reading, in the month of March, 1833, the second, in Boston, in October, of the same year. In December following, the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society was organized, and, at about the same time, the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Amesbury, Mass. During the few years immediately following, numerous State, County, and City Anti Slavery Societies were formed throughout the free States, both East and West, and among them were many organizations of women. Of these were the Concord, Lynn, Providence, Brooklyn, New York, Pittsburg, and Massillon Female Anti-Slavery Societies. All these Associations were auxiliary in fact, and many of them in name, to the American Anti-Slavery Society; based upon the same principles, working with the same measures, and inspired by the same hope. An examination of early anti-slavery records reveals the fact that many of these women were active and influential members of Churches of various denominations, who brought into this new enterprise the energy, zeal, and executive ability acquired in their ecclesiastical and moral training; and that they began their work in confident faith that a general dissemination of the truth relative to the character of American slavery would speedily array the power of these Churches against a system essentially anti-Christian. It cannot be claimed for them that they counted the cost of the warfare upon which they were entering, nor the number of the years which lay stretched out in the dim future, between their first battle and their final victory. It was well for them, well for the cause to which they had vowed allegiance, that this knowledge lay beyond their reach. The soul that would not have fainted or faltered before the prefigured vision of that long period of toil and strife, was, yet, stronger for the buoyant hope of early victory, and addressed itself to the labors of each successive year, all the more ardently for the bright possibility that its close might usher in the jubilee.

As they went on, they found their work widening, their responsibility deepening, at every step. It is now a page of history, it was then a startling revelation daily made, a painful experience daily borne, that the Churches which had nurtured their sons and daughters on the *words* of Christian love and human brotherhood had no desire to see them practically illustrated towards the slave or the negro. With more of keen disappointment and sorrow than of indignation, did we look on the strange spectacle of the American Church standing by to keep the garments of an enraged populace stoning the Stephens of that martyr age.

In October, 1835, the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society learned what was the degree of free speech which Massachusetts would allow and protect. Their announcement of their Annual Meeting to be held at Congress Hall for the transaction of business, and the delivery of an address by George Thompson, elicited threatening and scurrilous articles from the daily newspapers, indirectly invoking popular violence upon the anticipated meeting. Alarmed by these indications, the proprietor of the Hall refused to open it, and the meeting was necessarily postponed. That was a critical hour for the slave in the South, for freedom of speech in the North, and for the friends of both. In itself, it was a question of little importance whether a small and obscure Society should hold, publicly or privately, a meeting for the transaction of its business. Viewed with reference to its *immediate* consequences only, it seemed that obstinacy and folly would counsel the former, and wisdom the latter course. But the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, in deciding this question, looked beneath the surface of things, looked beyond the present hour. They knew that they stood that day, in Boston, the representatives, not only of two and a half millions of American slaves calling for help in the name of Justice, but, also, of the right of freedom of speech and of the press in the free States of America. They could not estimate then, we cannot compute now, the immense, far-reaching, consequences for good or evil which hung on that decision. From the records of these soul-trying scenes we learn that one question was asked and answered by their own souls, and their path of duty lay clearly revealed: "Upon whom dare those call to resist the popular voice, who have themselves been silenced by its tumult?"

Then followed their public advertisement of their Meeting, and their assembling at No. 46 Washington street, on that memorable 21st of October, 1835, when that famous mob of "gentlemen of property and standing" assaulted them with violence, and the Mayor of Boston told them that he had no power to protect such a Meeting.

Three events stand out, with prominence, in a review of the life, now become history, of the Women's Anti-Slavery Societies of this country, for they were the commencement of a long course of struggles against tyranny, and resistance to popular clamor in the advocacy of the slave's right to personal and political freedom.

A few years later, Anti Slavery Women instituted an Annual Convention, to be composed of delegates from the various Societies, the object of which was "to interest women in the subject of anti-slavery, and to establish a system of operations throughout every town and village which should exert a powerful influence in the abolition of American slavery."

The first of this series of Conventions was held in the city of New York, in May, 1837. The Resolutions adopted and the Addresses and Letters issued by that body indicate the wide scope which our enterprise had, at that period, attained; and evince a clear apprehension of its growing demands, and a strong and solemn purpose to meet them faithfully.

The second of these Conventions was held in Philadelphia, in May, 1838, during that well-remembered week when the Slave-Power ruled this city, and its vassals sought to appease it by a burnt-offering of a Temple of Liberty. Women who sat in their imperilled houses that day, thinking on the National inheritance awaiting their children, read, by the light of those fires, new lessons of duty to their country and their race. That Convention, driven from one place of meeting to another, at last assembled in a school-room, which was opened to them by one who regarded the security of private property as of less importance than the defiance of a great moral principle. The records of their closing session show that in the midst of their own fiery trials, and their sympathetic sufferings with our colored fellow-citizens who were victims of popular fury, they were jubilant over the triumph of Liberty in the British West Indies, the glad tidings of which was then resounding through our land; and were strong in faith and hope of the emancipation of the American slave. Another fact is clearly revealed by the records of these Conventions. It is that Abolitionists long clung, tenaciously, to the American Church, cherishing the belief that there was spiritual vitality enough in it to exorcise the spirit of slavery; and that it was with great reluctance that, after earnest and persistent efforts to arouse this vitality, they were convinced that the great body of the American Church was so thoroughly corrupted, by its alliances with slavery, that separation from it was a Christian duty.

The third Convention assembled in Philadelphia, in May, 1839, and occupied the building of the Pennsylvania Riding School, which, the Minutes tell us, was the only building of sufficient size, which could be procured in the city, for that purpose. The Mayor of the city, alarmed for the safety of the public peace, called upon Lucretia Mott, and offered several suggestions for the conduct of the Convention, which he thought might aid in warding off threatened danger. It is interesting, now, to read that conversation, eminently characteristic of the two parties represented by the colloquists.

We find on the Minutes of this Convention a Resolution of adjournment to meet in the city of Boston, in the year 1840. But the adjourned meeting was never held, and the third was the last of this series of Conventions.

The informing spirit of the Anti-Slavery enterprise had been leading its followers in a way which they knew not. Opening their eyes to one truth, and setting their hands with earnest purpose to one course of action, they soon perceived the scope of their vision broadening, and new fields of labor spreading out before them. Women whose souls burned with indignation against the monstrous injustice of slaveholding, or melted in pity for the slave, began to plead the cause of emancipation in public assemblies of men and women; and men, working heartily and zealously in the same cause, discovered that, as concert of action between men and women was important to success, so mutual counsel and discussion in their business meetings was convenient and profitable. The American Anti-Slavery Society, at its Annual Meeting in 1840, decided, for itself, that such mutual conference was right and expedient, and thenceforward women shared with men the management of its business, spoke from its platform, and were commissioned as its lecturing agents. Anti-Slavery Conventions composed exclusively of women were no longer needed, as they served no purpose which was not better served on a broader basis of operation. Some of our Women's Anti-Slavery Societies retained their distinct organization, and others were gradually merged in State or County Societies.

Two Institutions established by the Boston and Philadelphia Female Anti Slavery Societies, and which became very important auxiliaries in our cause, have a prominent place in the scenes which we are reviewing. These are the series of Annual Fairs commenced in Boston, in the year 1835, and in Philadelphia, in 1836. The former soon passed from a Metropolitan into a National Institution; and the latter, in the progress of years, became in fact and in name the Pennsylvania A. S. Fair, though they continued under the control and management of their originators. These have been of vast importance to our cause, in furnishing pecuniary support to the organ of the National Society, and to other instrumentalities by which our work has been done. And independently of such service, they have been of immense value as mediums of moral influence. Their social attractions brought many young persons within the hearing of anti-slavery truth; the opportunity of *working* for the objects of their sympathy crystalized sentiment into principle; the annual gatherings of the old and young, the veterans and the neophytes of our ranks, in scenes where the freedom of social intercourse mingled with the spirit of an anti-slavery meeting, were Passover Festivals, whither "our tribes went up" with gladness, and found refreshment and strength. Occasionally they became mediums of strength to our souls, by a sterner ministration. There were times when the populace, consenting to be the tool of the Slave Power, demanded the suppression of these Fairs, and the municipal authority, sympathized with a lawless mob, or shrank from the duty of opposing it. Four years ago, some of you stood in this Hall in very different circumstances from these which surround us to-day. Then, the banner which we hung out from its walls disturbed the peace of Philadelphia, because it bade the Nation "Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." Some of you well remember that remarkable conference which we held in the centre of this room, standing with the officers of the law, who were in most uncomfortable strait betwixt their sense of obligation to do what they were bidden, and their reluctance to perform the disgraceful errand on which they had been sent. On that occasion our opponents succeeded in ejecting the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Fair from this Hall, and the doors of another were immediately opened to it, by one of our citizens who, in the darkest and stormiest days of our conflict, *never* closed those doors against us.

Many of you remember, also, the yet more trying circumstances in which this Fair was held a year later, when the anticipation of the dissolution of the Union had alarmed the commercial classes in the North, and the suppression of an Anti-slavery Bazaar was regarded by some of our citizens as an opportune peace-offering to the South, and we were once more called to stand for the defence of the people's right of peaceful assemblage. The vigilance of our Mayor and his officers frustrated the purpose of the mob; and we regarded the maintenance of our right thus to assemble the chief success of our Fair of 1860.

The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society has preserved its distinct organization; and now awaits, with its coadjutors of the past thirty years, the hour when the shout of final victory shall burst from all our host, proclaiming that the work of the American Abolitionists is accomplished. That hour draws nigh. At the close of thirty years of warfare, we stand, today, in the midst of national convulsion—of a great moral revolution. Old things have passed away; and we hear a voice out of heaven proclaiming, "Behold, I make all things new!" The long and weary hours of darkness passed, we look around us, and

"Lo! our foemen of the night
Are brethren at the dawn of day."

Our watchwords are caught by other lips, and echoed through the land. Our Banner of Emancipation clings to the flag-staff of the Stars and Stripes, and soon will wave as broadly over the Nation. "Who knoweth not that the hand of the Lord hath wrought this?"

Verily, it is fitting that we, who, side by side, have toiled and fought for thirty years, should come hither to-day, to grasp one another's hands in fraternal congratulation, and to unite our unutterable thanksgivings that America's Day of Jubilee has dawned, and its sun is high in the heavens. With its glory streaming down upon us, and the song of our ransomed brethren in our ears, we bow in adoration before the Power and Wisdom and Love which is guiding this mighty revolution, and cry: "Thy will be done in earth as it is done in Heaven."!

Speech of Rev. Samuel J. May.

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY said: I have also been asked for reminiscences. May I be permitted to commence a little further back than the formation of this Society? The greatest event in my moral or spiritual life occurred on the evening when I first heard our friend William Lloyd Garrison, in Boston, in the Fall of 1830. I was so impressed by his words, that a resolution was formed in my soul from that moment to dedicate myself to the cause of the slave. I was called on to preach in the city of Boston on the following Sunday. I am ashamed to say that I had nothing at all, in any of the sermons I had taken with me, bearing in the least on this great subject. But fortunately I had a sermon on Prejudice. So I appended to that hastily in pencil an application of the doctrine of the sermon to the condition of the colored people in our country. I delivered the sermon. I will not stop now to describe to you the effect that it had upon the audience. The reminiscence is called to my mind merely by what has been said this afternoon respecting the early influence of women. The excitement was very great. The minister of the Church was exceedingly angry, and spoke to me in terms of stern reproof, and said I should never enter his pulpit again. As I passed out of the house, I saw on all hands that an unusual emotion had been awakened throughout the congregation. When I arrived at the vestibule of the church, I found it well nigh filled with persons talking busily together about the strange utterance to which they had listened. A woman, pressing through the crowd, stepped up to me, her countenance suffused with emotion, the tears trickling down her cheeks, and had the courage to stretch forth her hand to me and say, "Mr. May, I thank you. What a shame it is that I, who have now been for nearly forty years attending meeting in what are called Christian Churches, have never before heard an earnest appeal on behalf of the [illegible] colored people of our country." I shall never forget that woman. It was an event that sent deep into my soul that reverence which I now feel for woman (applause).

The first letter that you read this morning brought to my mind another reminiscence which antedates the meeting which formed this Society. Early in the Spring of that year, a noble woman, Prudence Crandall, in the town of Canterbury, Conn., in the simplest and most unostentatious manner, led to it by an event which she neither cour

For several years after I became acquainted with those "pestilent men" who have turned the world upside down, so that it now stands right side up, I devoted the greater part of my time to lecturing, and there is a fact I should like to have you all remember, to show you how naughty we were in the outset of our movement. More than a dozen times, as I approached a village to lecture, I would meet some prominent man, or after I got there he would call upon me at the hotel and say: "Mr. May, you are giving a lecture on slavery in our village?" "Yes, sir, I propose to do so." "Do you know that this question of slavery was considered by the framers of the Constitution of our country and that they adjusted it?" "Sir." I replied, "did you ever read the Constitution of the United States?" "You don't pretend to deny, Mr. May——" "Did you ever read the Constitution of the United States?" "Why, sir, everybody——" "Did you ever read the Constitution of the United States?" And certainly more than a dozen times I found men, holding high positions in society, who acknowledged that they had never read the Constitution! I reported it to the managers of our Society in Boston, and one of the naughty things that we did at that time was to publish a cheap edition of the Constitution of the United States and circulate it as one of our anti-slavery tracts. Do we not deserve all the harsh epithets with which we have been visited?

The Society adjourned, to meet the next day, at 10 a.m.

[REPORT TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK]

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1863.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE DECADE MEETING fill the larger portion of our space this week, to the exclusion of many interesting articles for which we desired to make room. But we are sure our readers, in view of the great importance of that meeting, will think our report of its sayings and doings none too full. We shall complete the report next week.

Such of the Letters addressed to the Convention as were not read therein for want of time, will nearly all be found on the fourth page. The rest—including one of great interest and ability from JOHN JAY, Esq.—will appear next week.

THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN.

THE President has taken the country by surprise in appending to his Annual Message a Proclamation setting forth his plan for the settlement of the vexed questions arising out of the approaching suppression of the Rebellion. Like human life, his plan is a "mingled yarn, good and ill together," and we are willing to believe that the golden threads predominate in the tissue. Its practical effect, however, must depend upon events beyond his power to control, and which would have governed the ultimate results of the war, whether this Proclamation had been issued or withheld. The President's utterances, in his Message and in the Proclamation, may be considered as they affect his own personal character, and as they may influence the future history of the country, if they should be reduced to action. His declaration that while he retains his present position, he shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation, and that he will not return to slavery any person free by its terms or those of any act of Congress, is worthy of a great magistrate, true to the great interests committed to his charge at such an unprecedented crisis of the nation's existence. It confirms the high opinion with which the Proclamation of January and the Letter to the Illinois Convention had inspired all true lovers of their country of his wisdom and courage. It removes the apprehensions which some anxious spirits have felt, that he might be persuaded to think it a stroke of statesmanship to patch up a peace by purchasing Union at the price of leaving slavery alive. His personal honor as a man, as well as his duty as a magistrate, is now solemnly pledged to the maintenance of the Proclamation, before the country and the world. It places him in a proud position, personally, as a man who has deliberately taken a great responsibility and does not mean to shrink from it. Abraham Lincoln stands well, individually, and he will receive high honor from the lovers of freedom and the haters of slavery, everywhere, for what he has said in confirmation and republication of his great action of last New Year's Day.

While we would thus do all honor to Mr. Lincoln for his repudiation of the idea that he could be induced, by fraud or fear, to retract or modify his immortal Proclamation, we cannot but express our regret that he should have thought it his duty to indicate a way by which that great enactment might be rendered null and void. The oath to support his Proclamation as to slaves is binding only so long as it remains unmodified or uninvalidated by the Supreme Court! Our readers will bear us witness that we have always regarded the greatest peril to the nation, in the present emergency, as lurking in the Supreme Court-room, ready to strut forth at the opportune moment, should it unhappily arrive. We rather think we were the first to draw attention, by the press, to this particular danger. The decision of the Supreme Court, consisting of so large a proportion of Dred Scott judges, could not be doubtful, provided there was slavery enough left to be saved, when the case should be presented to them, and the public sentiment of the country were not too overpoweringly anti-slavery to make it safe. As there are three million and a half of slaves in the rebel country, we fear that the first part of the *proviso* could not be depended upon at so early a day as the matter must be ended; and, as to the other part, great as has been the change in public sentiment as to slavery since the war begun, we fear it has not yet reached the point which would reject a peace, possible on the continuation of slavery, if the Proclamation could be set aside by the forms of law. We admit that if the Supreme Court have the power here allowed to them that it could be exerted, if invoked, whether the President would or no. But we think that he would have better consulted his dignity and self-respect, had he left that recourse to be found out by the enemy, and their Northern friends, without pointing it out to them, himself. We cannot believe that the conciliation of the Copperheads, which was doubtless the purpose of the suggestion, was sufficiently important or probable to make this reference advisable. The worst of them, certainly, have not responded to it in any other way than by their hissing and threatening with their venomous fangs. We should think that the President might have ventured to take for granted the validity of his Proclamation, as the nation has shown itself willing to do. We have held, and we believe the great mass of the people have done the same, that the Supreme Court have nothing to do with the exercise of the War Powers given by the Constitution. The President, or the Commanding General in the field, has the responsibility of construing those Powers according to his views of the necessity of each case as it arises. The Senate, sitting as a Court of Impeachment, is the remedy for an abuse of these powers by the President, and a proper military court of such abuse by a General-in-Chief. It seems to us that the Supreme Court have no more to do with the matter than the Common Council of this city.

The President's plan for the restoration of the rebel States to their former political condition strikes us as even more practically objectionable. For it opens a way by means of perjury, of which we know that slaveholders make small account, by which disloyal persons may be foisted into Congress in sufficient numbers to defeat all measures tending to the suppression of the rebellion. The men who have applied for admission to Congress this year from Louisiana are but a foretaste of what we may expect hereafter. If, as is not impossible, there may be the requisite tenth in that State, despairing of the Confederacy and ready to do the best that they can for themselves, these very persons, with the smell of rebellion upon their garments, may be added to the large opposition minority. Increased by similar recruits from North Carolina and Tennessee, it might well be that the opposition might be swelled to a sufficient force to block the wheels of the government. These are certainly no impossibilities. One can hardly say that they are violent improbabilities. We think that no such risk, however small, should be run, when it could be perfectly well avoided. The rebel States are now, the Supreme Court itself being witness and judge, in a state of war with us. Every one of their inhabitants is the legal enemy of every one of us. They have no claim to any indulgence at our hands other than is granted by the laws of war to open enemies. The fact that they are rebels as well as enemies surely cannot make their case any better for them. It would be strictly just as well as lawful to refuse to show them any political favor, before the rebellion is entirely suppressed and its recurrence made impossible by the effectual abolition of slavery. By rebellion those States have forfeited all their political rights, and, if restored, they should be obliged to pass through the purgatorial intermediacy of *territorialism*, and be admitted to the paradise of sovereign power, only by the passport of a Free State Constitution. It may be said that this risk is small. But the Administration is not strong enough in Congress to run any risk at all, where it is purely gratuitous. The restoration of all persons engaged in the rebellion, to their rights of property, who shall be willing to take this oath, is another objectionable feature in the President's plan. It takes away one of the chief terrors of public justice from over the heads of these great criminals. And the proposition to commit the care and education of the freedmen to these revived States is too much like giving the lambs to the nurture and admonition of the wolves. That is a duty which belongs, by eminence, to the Nation, and should be entrusted to none but trustworthy hands.

But, with all these drawbacks, we accept with joy and gratitude the omen of such an utterance as this of a President of the United States. The declaration that the Proclamation is to stand, until declared void, and that it will never be retracted or modified by him, is a present and fruitful good. The possible evils are contingent, and may never occur. The case for the Supreme Court cannot be made up in a hurry, and it may be that even the Supreme Court may have been carried away from their old moorings by the changing tide of public sentiment. Then it will take some time for any of the rebel States to put themselves into the position to claim the political resurrection offered them. In the meantime, the Proclamation has free course, and, if it be properly enforced, it will be glorified and make us glorious. A revolution like the one we are in cannot go backwards, and cannot be very much delayed or deranged by human mistakes and folly. Congress has the power to accomplish it at once by enacting, as a measure of public necessity and safety, the abolition of slavery everywhere, and making this the basis of all future arrangements after the rebellion shall have been subdued. The fate of slavery is sealed, come what may. The business of Congress is to see that its doom is not delayed or mitigated by treason, disguised as magnanimity or clemency. And the duty of all of us is to support Congress and the President in the work before them by all the sustaining power of a sound public sentiment, being assured that all the incidental errors and drawbacks will be lost in the blaze of the final victory.

PERSONAL.

Wendell Phillips will speak at the Cooper Institute on Tuesday evening next, on the President's Message Thousands will be eager to hear him.

It is said that Senator Henderson of Missouri will hereafter attend the caucuses of Republican Senators. There is believed to be no essential difference between his political views and those of B. Gratz Brown.

Gen. Schofield has been ordered to come to Washington, but it is not certain that he has been removed from the command in the Department of Missouri. The Radicals desire his removal, and the President is likely to gratify them.

J. Miller McKim has gone to the South-west to inquire into the condition and wants of the Freedmen. His report will command the entire confidence of all who know him, and lead, no doubt, to important practical results.

The Washington correspondent of *The Times* says: "The charges against Henry B. Stanton, made to implicate him in the abstraction of bonds from the Custom-House, have, after the fullest investigation, proved groundless."

Mr. Howitt, a brother of the celebrated Australian explorer of the same name, and a son of William and Mary Howitt, has, with three others, been drowned, owing to the upsetting of a canoe on Lake Branner, in the western district of Canterbury, New Zealand.

The Delaware Senators, Messrs. Bayard and Saulsbury, whose hearts are with the rebels, having never taken the anti-rebellion oath required by act of the last Congress, will probably have to take it or be expelled.

The President has signed a pardon for Brig.-Gen. Gantt, of Arkansas, formerly of the rebel army, who has repented of his treason, and brought forth "fruits meet for repentance," in committing himself openly to the work of abolishing slavery as a condition of the readmission of the rebel States to the Union.

George W. Curtis, travelling lately on the Erie Railroad, was so unfortunate as to have his carpet-bag stolen. Besides wearing apparel, the thief obtained a bran new lecture in manuscript entitled "Political Infidelity," for the recovery of which Mr. Curtis offers a reward of $50.

The "Life and Correspondence" of Theodore Parker, by John Weiss, in two octavo volumes, will shortly be published by D. Appleton & Co. of this city. A friend who has seen the sheets in advance of publication assures us that the work will meet the highest expectations of Mr. Parker's friends. Thousands of our readers, who loved and admired Mr. Parker, will be eager to possess it.

On Thanksgiving day, Judge Bond, of Baltimore (son of the late Dr. Bond, so long the editor of *The Christian Advocate and Journal*, the central organ of the M. E. Church), made open confession of his error in advocating the pro-slavery side of the controversy in the Methodist Church that terminated with the memorable Staunton Conference in Virginia in 1830, and boldly recanted his views then entertained, having for more than two years past been engaged in actively pushing on the abolition of slavery throughout Maryland.

Dr. Cheever having proposed to Henry Ward Beecher a public debate upon the relations of the Federal Constitution to Slavery, the latter declined the proposal in a note in which he said: "You are editorially connected with one respectable newspaper and I with another. It will give me great pleasure to read whatever you may have to suggest in your paper on these important subjects, and if at any time I think the cause which we both are sincerely striving to serve would be helped by such a course, I will comment on your views in *The Independent*."

It was announced beforehand, as one of the attractions of the late meeting of the Congregational Union in Liverpool, that Mr. Beecher would be present to address the Union. He was not present, and the London correspondent of the Toronto *Globe* says that the reason why he was not present was that the Committee declined to invite him, "lest discord should arise." Also that Rev. S. Martin of Westminster refused to go to the meeting lest Mr. Beecher should be there; and that Mr. Samuel Morley of London, the leader of the Congregational body, had a resolution ready to offer "calling for perfect silence on American affairs."

The Ashtabula *Sentinel* says, in noticing the arrival of Hon. J. R. Giddings at that place, under a leave of absence from the rigor of the Canadian climate, rendered necessary by his health, the cold of Montreal last Winter having produced atrophy and threatened his life: "We understand Mr. Giddings, that had his health permitted, he would have gone to prison, and permitted our commercial intercourse with the Canadas to have been suspended by the operation of this process. But he felt that in his state of health such a course would probably prove fatal. He therefore entered bail, instructing his counsel, on the return of the writ, to move to quash the proceeding; and he expresses confidence that the Canadian court will not be made an instrument for promoting the objects of secessionists, who are evidently using Redpath as an instrument for assailing Mr. Giddings, and getting up an ill-feeling between the people of the United States and those of Canada."

The following extract of a private letter of Gen. Grant to the Hon. E. B. Washburne, dated Aug. 13, 1863, sets at rest the question of veracity raised by *The Herald* with Senator Wilson, who gave the substance without giving the exact language of it in a recent speech:

"The people of the North need not quarrel over the institution of slavery. What Vice-President Stevens acknowledges as the corner-stone of the Confederacy is already knocked out. Slavery is already dead, and cannot be resurrected. It would take a standing army to maintain slavery in the South if we were to make peace to-day, guaranteeing to the South all their former constitutional privileges. I never was an Abolitionist, not even what could be called anti-slavery, but I try to judge fairly and honestly, and it became patent to my mind early in the rebellion that the North and South could never live at peace with each other except as one nation, and that without slavery. As anxious as I am to see peace established, I would not, therefore, be willing to see any settlement until this question is forever settled."

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12, 1863.

CONGRESS is organized, the message and the departmental reports have been received, and all is ready for legislative work. No one expects, however, that much heavy work will be done in the first month of a long session, when the holidays occur in that time.

There is but one subject that demands immediate attention at the hands of Congress, and it is the Conscription Act. The Secretary of War asks for the speedy consideration of proposed amendments to that Act, upon the ground that if the Act is to be changed at all, it should be done at once, so as to go in to effect before the threatened January draft. The Military Committee of the Senate is usually in close communication with the War Department, and the most important military reforms have been originated in the Committee. There are two reasons for this. Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts is its Chairman, and he is a man of great activity of mind as well as of body. He works constantly, and therefore is constantly anticipating the House Committee. He is on confidential terms with the War Department, and usually comes down every morning from Secretary Stanton's office to the Senate, thoroughly informed respecting the opinions and desires of the department. A bill has already been referred to the Military Committee of the Senate, which amends the Conscription Act by striking out the famous $300 section. The distinction of classes will be struck out without a doubt, but there will be a very animated debate on the commutation section. The Secretary of War is non-committal upon the subject, evidently not caring which way Congress decides the much-debated question.

This is the only legislation which *must* be attended to at once, and when this is disposed of, the members will give themselves a little recreation in the holidays or perhaps will attend upon the departments at the call of their constituents.

There are some men in Congress who never forget the good old cause of anti-slavery, whatever be the occasion or situation. Mr. Sumner is one of these men in the Senate. Mr. Lovejoy is another in the House. On the very first day of the session, shortly after the Speaker had been sworn in, Mr. Lovejoy was upon his feet and calling out in a loud voice upon the "Mr. Speaker!" He got the eye if not the ear of Speaker Colfax, and gave notice of a bill "to punish slaveholders"! Mr. Lovejoy is looking very well, and evidently enjoys public life, especially in these peculiar days, when anti-slavery principles are upheld in all quarters. After the adjournment of the last Congress last March, he was taken dangerously ill, and it was feared at one time that he would never be able to return to his labors in Congress. To his pro-slavery physician in this city he said, laughingly, "I suppose that it is abolitionism *struck in* that is the matter!" "If I can only bring it out," replied the doctor, "I shall feel that I have done some good!" Lovejoy got well, but I see the abolitionism is still in him, and his doctor, though very skilful in his profession, did not succeed in bringing it out.

In the Senate, Mr. Sumner stood up on one of the first days of the session to propose a bill for the repeal of the accursed Fugitive Slave law. It is exactly the work to be done this very Winter, and if Republicans postpone it any longer, they will lay themselves open to a charge of cowardice. Are they afraid that the President will veto such a bill? I doubt very much if he would. Indeed I feel certain that he believes that law to be an inhuman one. Of course it cannot be denied that Mr. Lincoln avowed before his election his belief that the Southern slaveholder was entitled to a return of his runaway slave—to some kind of a Fugitive Slave law, but circumstances have greatly changed, and the President has changed with them. It is time that this barbarous law was repealed, and it is not in point (nor is it true) to deny that it is a dead law upon the statute-book. It has been executed within a month in this District! It is a disgrace to the nation throughout the world, that in the midst of our pretensions that this is a war in the interest of human freedom, a human being was seized and dragged from the Capital of the nation, within sight of the President's mansion, *as property*, just as a horse or mule, which had broken loose from pasture, might have been seized, and was carried back to his owner. Such things should not longer be possible in the Capital of the nation, which is under the instant control of Congress.

Mr. Arnold of Chicago has introduced a bill in the House to give effect to the President's proclamation, prohibiting slavery in the rebel States by enactment. I am aware that very many Republicans hold that Congress has no power to legislate upon any such subject, but it will certainly do no harm to follow up the proclamation with a legislative act. If it is of no effect, it will not do any harm. I am glad, therefore, to see that Mr. Arnold is asking the House to follow in the footsteps of the President and give its sanction to the military proclamation in a legislative act. It may not pass, but the discussion of the measure will do good.

The National League is in session in Washington, and some very important questions have come before it. It was determined, at an early stage in the proceedings of the League, that it would take up and investigate the Missouri troubles, and if it should be found that gross injustice had been done to the Republicans of that State by the officers placed in power there by Mr. Lincoln, that a Committee should be sent to the President to petition for a redress of grievances. After a full discussion of the subject, in the course of which some startling facts were disclosed—startling at least to the Eastern delegates—a Committee was appointed to wait upon Mr. Lincoln, to request that the Schofield and Gamble policy in Missouri be reversed. The League, it is found, is radical two to one, a very significant fact. There was plain talk, I hear, between the Committee and the President. He does not relish interference of this sort, but waived his dignity and argued the subject with the gentlemen who waited upon him. He is reported to have said that Gov. Gamble has shown as much alacrity in raising troops for the national service as Gov. Andrew has done. I think there must be some mistake about this. It can't be possible that Mr. Lincoln said any such thing. It would be cruel to Gov. Andrew to compare him with such a lukewarm, pro-slavery man as Gamble. Gamble may have raised troops for his own State organization, which did little but persecute Republicans and Radicals, but he has no right to be placed by the side of Gov. Andrew in patriotism and loyal devotion to the country. The story that Mr. Lincoln made the remark alluded to is told among the delegates, but it is probably one of those statements which have grown up out of a slight remark as it has been handed from person to person. There is a strong feeling, an intense feeling, against Messrs. Blair and Bates. In Missouri, Mr. Bates took bold ground last fall, openly endeavoring to destroy the Radicals. He was not rebuked for it by Mr. Lincoln. Of course the genuine Republicans in that State feel very much incensed against an Administration that has seemed to take sides against them and in favor of their enemies. I don't believe they will drive Messrs. Blair and Bates from the Cabinet, however. It will be as it was in the case of the Missouri delegation. They demande the removal of Gen. Schofield. The President complied with several of their requests, but kept Schofield in power. So in this case will he endeavor to correct certain evils which have been pointed out to him very clearly, but he will not dismiss Messrs. Bates and Blair. He is attached to them, and rather likes the idea of a Cabinet made up of Conservatives and Radicals. He does not care to have it composed entirely of Radicals, for he is naturally conservative himself. And the country, finally, will acquiesce in whatever Mr. Lincoln may do in reference to this matter. The confidence of the people in his integrity is wonderful. They acquiesce even when he does wrong, as of course he *sometimes* does.

AVON.

WOMEN'S PETITION FOR EMANCIPATION.

WE give below the form of petition adopted by the Women's National Loyal League. If any of our readers are not otherwise supplied, they can copy this on a sheet of paper and commence at once the work of obtaining signatures.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

(Men)

The Undersigned, Women of the United States above the age of eighteen years, earnestly pray that your Honorable Body will pass, at the earliest practicable day, an Act emancipating all Persons of African descent held to involuntary service or labor in the United States.

Name.	*Residence.*

When the sheet is filled, add others of the same width to the foot of it, with paste or mucilage. The signatures should be by the persons themselves, or else written at their request. Add, at close of each petition, the number of signatures contained, and name of Town, County and State whence it comes. Return to Women's National Loyal League, 20 Cooper Institute, New York.

AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

CONTRABAND CAMP HOSPITAL,
Washington, D. C., Dec. 12, 1863.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I BEG leave, through your columns, in behalf of the Contrabands, to thank the officers and members of the American Missionary Association of New York for clothing received. Hoping that the friends of the Freedmen will so continue in that laudable enterprise, I am, very respectfully,

WM. P. POWELL, Jr., M.D., U. S. A.,
Surgeon in charge Contraband Camp Hospital.

CHAPLAIN OF THE HOUSE.—The election of Rev. W. H. Channing to be the Chaplain of the U. S. House of Representatives is an anti-slavery triumph of marked significance. For more than two years Mr. Channing has, singly and alone, in Washington, among the regular clergymen in that city, upheld the banner of "Freedom and Equal Rights for all." The Church and congregation of which he is pastor stood his preaching for freedom with some toleration and a small diminution of its numbers; but when he boldly proclaimed *equal rights* for the colored man as well as release from slavery, only a handful of the Society remained to sustain him, and his support as its minister was eked out only by the salary he received as a Hospital Chaplain, which he generously contributed to the Society's funds. His election was entirely spontaneous.

THE ANNIVERSARY OF FREEDOM IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—The Freedmen of Port Royal, Ladies, St. Helena and Paris Islands, under the sanction of Gov. Saxton, will celebrate the first of January, the anniversary of the President's Proclamation of Freedom. They will form a procession in Beaufort and march to a designated spot on Port Royal, where a platform will be erected for military officers and invited guests. The exercises of the occasion will be singing, prayer, opening remarks, presentation, oration, reading of a poem written for the occasion by one of our anti-slavery poets, etc. Gov. Saxton promises to lend every assistance in his power toward carrying out the proposed arrangements. What a celebration it will be—how full of righteous exultation and hope!

COLORED TROOPS IN MARYLAND.—Col. Birney is working with great success in enlisting colored soldiers in Maryland. There are now in Camp Stanton, near Bryantown, Charles Co., some two thousand men, forming portions of three regiments, viz., the 7th, 9th and 19th U. S. Colored Troops. Lieut.-Col. Haskell, son of Lewellyn Haskell of Orange, N. J., is one of the most efficient officers at that post. We are requested to say that letters, newspapers, etc., intended for him, or for any other officer or soldier at that post, should be directed to Camp Stanton, near Bryantown, Charles Co., Md.

THE TREASURER OF THE NATIONAL FREEDMEN'S RELIEF SOCIETY OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA acknowledges the receipt of two hundred and fifty dollars for the support of Schools for the freed people of Washington and Georgetown, from JAY COOKE and Co., Bankers.

Washington, D. C. GEO. E. BAKER, Treasurer.

THANKSGIVING DAY was generally observed by the Americans in London. A grand banquet was given at St. James's Hall under the Presidency of Robert J. Walker. Mr. Adams was present, and delivered a speech. Prayer was offered on the occasion by J. Sella Martin.

Proceedings of Congress.

In the Senate, on the 9th, Mr. Powell of Ky. gave notice of a bill to prevent Federal officers and soldiers from interfering with elections in States—in other words, to make it easy for traitors to reach the ballot-box. The Rev. Dr. Sunderland was elected Chaplain. On the 10th Mr. Sumner presented a memorial from the President and Professors of the Theological School at Meadville, Pa., for the emancipation of all persons of African descent, held in slavery. On Monday, Mr. Dixon of Ct. gave notice of a bill to so amend the Conscription Act as to exempt clergymen. The Standing Committees were elected. B. Gratz Brown, from Missouri, appeared and was sworn. Mr. Wilson of Mass. introduced resolutions of thanks to Generals Hooker and Meade, and to the officers and soldiers of the Army of the Potomac; also to Gen. Banks and his officers and soldiers. Referred to the Military Committee. The joint resolution of thanks to Gen. Grant, passed by the House, was referred to the same Committee. Mr. Lane of Indiana introduced a bill to repeal the $300 exemption clause of the Conscription bill, and to increase the pay of the soldiers in the army. Mr. Hale of New Hampshire, by unanimous consent, introduced a bill more effectually to repress the Rebellion by prohibiting the holding in servitude of any persons in the country, except on contract. Ordered to be printed. On Tuesday Mr. Lane of Indiana introduced a bill to suppress all traffic in gold, silver and foreign exchange for speculative purposes. The different portions of the President's message were referred to the appropriate Committees. Mr. Davis of Ky. called up his resolutions on the exchange of prisoners, and argued vehemently against the refusal of the Administration to liberate thousands of starving and dying white men for the sake of a few negroes. His loyalty was unspotted! but he should, in seeking to avoid the Scylla of the Rebellion, use constant vigilance not to fall into the Charybdis of Abolitionism. Reverdy Johnson of Md., to the surprise of everybody, made a speech in vindication of the legality and policy of enlisting colored soldiers. His anti-slavery declarations were thoroughgoing and emphatic, entirely of a piece with the sentiments of the people of Maryland as expressed at the recent election. Mr. Hale rebuked the Senator from Kentucky in severe but just terms for his unpatriotic course.

In the House, on the 9th, Mr. Stevens of Pa. introduced a bill to place colored soldiers and non-commissioned officers on the same footing with white men with regard to pay, bounty and pension; a bill to repeal the Fugitive Slave laws of 1793 and 1850. Mr. Cox's (O.) resolution in relation to the exchange of prisoners of war, was amended on motion of Mr. Washburne of Ill., and adopted—yeas 106, nays 46, as follows:

"That this House approve of the constant, statesmanlike and humane efforts of the Administration to secure an exchange of our prisoners now in the hands of the rebels, and that it is hereby recommended that such efforts be continued to secure an exchange of our prisoners now in the hands of the rebels."

The President's Message was received, and 50,000 copies ordered be printed. On the 10th Rev. W. H. Channing was elected Chaplain, receiving 86 votes to 55 cast for Bishop Hopkins of Vermont, the champion of slavery from the Bible! On Monday the Speaker announced the Standing Committees, for a list of which we must, for the want of room, refer our readers to other journals. A resolution by Mr. Morrill of Vermont to give the requisite notice to Great Britain for the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty, was referred to the Committee on Commerce. Mr. Eliot of Mass. introduced a bill to establish a Bureau of Emancipation. Referred to a Select Committee. Mr. Dawes of Mass. introduced a bill providing for the election of Representatives from the States of Tennessee and Louisiana. Referred to the Committee on Elections. Mr. Stevens of Pa. introduced a bill to fix the pay of colored officers, chaplains and musicians. Referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. Mr. Stevens also introduced a bill to fix the time for holding elections for Representatives to Congress, and to enable soldiers to vote for State officers. Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. A bill was introduced and referred, enabling Colorado and Nebraska to form State governments and provide for their admission into the Union, and a bill providing a temporary government for the Territory of Montana, both of which were referred to the Committee on Territories; also, a bill providing for recruiting negroes in insurrectionary districts, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. Mr. Yeaman (Border State, Ky.) introduced a bill for the restoration of civil authority in such States as are not under the control of the rebellion. Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Several bills were introduced and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, to repeal the Fugitive Slave law, and to amend the Constitution so as to abolish slavery in all the States. Mr. Lovejoy of Ill. introduced the following bill:

Whereas, The Declaration of Independence declares all men created equal, and endowed by their Creator with the inalienable right to life, liberty and the fruits of an honest toil, and

Whereas, The government of the United States was instituted to secure this right; and,

Whereas, The Constitution of the United States declares that no person shall be deprived of liberty without due process of law, and also declares—article 6, clause 2d—as follows: "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution and laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding"; and,

Whereas, It has been demonstrated by the rebellion that slavery is absolutely incompatible with the Union, peace and general welfare for which Congress are to provide; therefore,

But it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc:

Section 1. Releases all slaves in all of the States and Territories of the United states, and clothes them with the immunities of free citizens.

Section 2. Makes their reënslavement a crime and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

Mr. Lovejoy also introduced a bill to protect freedmen and to provide for punishing those who attempt to enslave them. Referred to the Judiciary Committee. Mr. Arnold of Ill. introduced a bill to repeal so much of the Enrollment Act as authorizes the discharge of persons drafted on payment of $300. Referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. Mr. Arnold also introduced a bill to aid the President to carry out the immediate execution of the Emancipation proclamation of Jan. 1, 1863, and prohibiting the reënslavement of persons designated therein. Referred to the Judiciary Committee. Mr. Washburne of Ill. introduced a bill reviving the grade of Lieutenant-General, and authorizing the President to confer it on any officer not below the grade of Major-General, who has distinguished himself by courage and skill, etc., and who being thus commissioned may be authorized to command the armies of the United States. Referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. Fernando Wood of New York made a "flank movement" for the benefit of the rebels by submitting the following preamble and resolution which were laid on the table, ayes 98, nays 50:

Whereas, The President, in his Message delivered to this House on the 9th inst., and in his recommendation to the people to assemble at their places of worship to give thanks to God for recent victories, claims that the Union cause has gained important and substantial advantages; and whereas, in view of these triumphs, it is no longer beneath our dignity nor dangerous to our safety to evince a generous magnanimity becoming a great and powerful people, by offering to the insurgents an opportunity to return to the Union without imposing upon them degrading or destructive conditions; therefore

Resolved, That the President be requested to appoint three Commissioners, who shall be empowered to open negotiations with the authorities at Richmond, to the end that this bloody, destructive and inhuman war shall cease, and the Union be restored upon terms of equity, fraternity, and equality under the Constitution.

Mr. Julian (Un., Ind.) introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to report a bill for the repeal of the third and fourth sections of the act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their masters, approved Feb. 12, 1793, and the act to amend and explanatory of the aforesaid act, approved Sept. 18, 1850.

On motion of Mr. Holman (Dem. Ind.) the resolution was laid on the table by a vote of 82 yeas to 74 nays. Resolutions from the Opposition side, expounding the Copperhead ideas of Reconstruction, were laid on the table, yeas 82, nays 74. Mr. Lovejoy of Ill. offered a resolution instructing the Committee on Military Affairs to inquire into the expediency of placing, in any bill or bills they may report, all the regularly enlisted soldiers on a footing as to pay, without disinction of color. Adopted. On Tuesday, on motion of Mr. Stevens of Pa., the different portions of the President's message were referred to the appropriate Committees—that in relation to the duty of the United States to guarantee to every State a republican form of government, and to those States in which the government has been abrogated or overthrown, to a Select Committee of nine members, who are to report the bill necessary to carry into effect this duty. Mr. Ashley of Ohio has already prepared a bill for this purpose, which will doubtless be referred to the Committee for their consideration.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

CAPTURE OF A STEAMER.

The Steamer Chesapeake, which left New York for Portland on Saturday, Dec. 5th., was seized by a gang of rebel passengers on board, at 1 o'clock on Monday morning, off Cape Cod, the Captain and crew overpowered, and the vessel taken complete possession of by the pirates. There was some resistance made, the Second Engineer being shot dead and thrown overboard, and the First Engineer and Mate wounded. The Captain and crew, about twenty in all, were landed at St. John, N. B., on the 9th. The St. John's *Globe* says that the plot to capture the steamer was conceived there by Secessionists, who hired some of the vilest characters of that place to assist in its execution. The design was to load the vessel with the particular kind of merchandize of most value in the Confederacy, and then run the blockade of Wilmington. The steamer did not enter, but merely called off the harbor of St John's, to receive on board Capt. Parker, formerly of the privateer *Retribution*, who took command. The government has taken measures to recapture the vessel, with good hope of success.

GEN. BUTLER AWAKE.

On the 12th inst. an expedition penetrated as far as Charles City Court-House (on the north side of James River, not far below City Point), which captured eight officers and 82 enlisted men, being the whole command of three companies. The enemy's camp, with its equipment, arms, ammunition, and provisions, was destroyed. Our loss is Capt. Gregory, severely wounded, one sergeant and one corporal killed, and four men wounded. The New York Mounted Rifles, in 44 hours, marched 76 miles; the 139th New York Infantry, in 54 hours, marched 61 miles, mostly in a severe storm, moving day and night and walking their shoes off.

The correspondent of *The Times*, at Portsmouth, Va., gives an account of an important expedition, undertaken by Brig.-Gen. Wilde, commanding the negro brigade in Gen. Butler's department. Starting out from the vicinity of Portsmouth on Saturday, the 5th inst. and marching in two columns by different routes, the brigade united at Hintonsville, N. C., whence an advance was made on Elizabeth City, which was occupied on the 10th without opposition, the rebels being taken by surprise. Artillery and cavalry, as well as a considerable naval force have left to cooperate with Gen. Wilde, and Elizabeth City is likely to be made the base of important operations.

DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF.

Later news from Texas reached Washington on Saturday. Gen. Banks announces that forces under Maj.-Gen. Washburne have seized the approaches to Matagorda. The rebel garrison of Fort Esperanza, consisting of 1,000 men, fled at the approach of our troops, first blowing up the magazines. A high gale prevented the cooperation of the gunboats with the land forces, or the enemy would probably have fallen into our hands. Ten guns were captured, ranging from 24 to 108-pounders. The command of Matagorda Bay substantially gives us the control of Central and Western Texas, and all the important points on the east coast except Galveston. The town of Matagorda, situated on the bay, at the mouth of the Colorado river, has a large trade, and is the depot for the produce of the Colorado Valley, which is one of the richest parts of Texas.

A New Orleans correspondent of *The Boston Traveller* writes that the Union men are rallying under the standard of Gen. Banks in large numbers. All the Texans required was a force to back them up, and they repeatedly said that if a sufficient army was sent to assist them they would soon have Texas all right again. They have already proved the truth of their statements, for Gen. Banks has recruited two regiments since he landed in that State, and the work is still going on, the Texans coming from their places of concealment and enrolling themselves in the Union Army.

DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH.

We have Port Royal dates to Dec. 8. We regret to record the loss of another iron-clad, the Weehawken, which sunk suddenly at her anchorage off Morris Island during a gale on the 6th inst.; thirty of her crew were lost. None of the other vessels were injured. The accident is said to have been the result of carelessness.

FROM TENNESSEE.

Telegrams were received in Washington on Monday evening from Knoxville up to that morning. Gen. Foster has assumed the command of the troops lately under Gen. Burnside, and the latter had departed from that city for Cincinnatti. All was then quiet in the vicinity of Knoxville. It was stated there that much of Gen. Longstreet's artillery and trains had fallen into the hands of our force, but these accounts lacked confirmation.

MORTON'S GOLD PENS are now sold at the same prices as before the commencement of the war; this is entirely owing to the Manufacturer's improvements in machinery, his present large Retail Business and Cash-in-Advance System; for, until he commenced advertising, his business was done on Credit and *strictly with the Trade*.

The Morton Gold Pens are the only ones sold at old prices, as the makers of all other gold pens charge the Premium on the Gold, Government Tax, etc.; but Morton has in no case changed his prices, Wholesale or Retail.

Of the great numbers sent by mail to all parts of the world during the past few years, not one in a thousand has failed to reach its destination in safety; showing that the Morton Gold Pen can be obtained by any one, in every part of the world, at the same price, postage only excepted.

Reader, you can have an enduring, always ready, and reliable Gold Pen, exactly adapted to your hand and style of writing, which will do your writing vastly cheaper than Steel Pens; and at the present almost universal High-Pressure Price of everything, you can have a Morton Gold Pen cheaper, in proportion to the labor spent upon it and material used, than any other Gold Pen in the World. If you want one, see the "Pen is Mightier than the Sword," on the fourth page.

PHOTOGRAPHS—large size—of the following persons for sale at this office, price 75 cents:

THEODORE D. WELD,
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,
OLIVER JOHNSON,
THEODORE TILTON.

The likenesses are pronounced excellent—that of Mr. Weld especially.

Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

Collections at the Annual Meeting.

Mary Y. Jones	$ 60	R. T. Pickering	50
Rachel Dickerton	50	Thomas Garrett	20 00
Wm. Clement	1 00	Hannah Cox	1 00
Joseph Moore	2 00	A. K.	50
Jeremiah Whitson	50	Thomas Whitson	1 00
Sophia Moore	1 00	Samuel Pennock	5 00
J. M. Truman	1 00	Caleb Hood	50
Samuel Lloyd	3 00	John Palmer	1 00
E. Cabeen	5 00	M. Stamback	1 00
Isaac Moore	1 00	Huldah Justice	2 00
E. Barnard	2 00	M. L. Cox	1 00
M. J. Burleigh	4 00	M. A. Davis	1 00
M. Y. Jones	60	S. N. Haines	30
Wm. Thompson	1 00	Edward Atkins	1 00
Robert Lamborn	5 00	Sarah Lloyd	50
J. Carpenter	1 00	Joseph Hutler	25
Rachel H. Johns	1 00	John Hart	25

THE STANDARD.

THIRD DECADE CELEBRATION.

LETTERS FROM ANTI-SLAVERY FRIENDS.

FROM REV. DAVID THURSTON.

LITCHFIELD CORNER, Me., Nov 20, 1863.

DEAR SIR: I thank you for the invitation to the *thirtieth* anniversary of our Society at Philadelphia. I call it ours, because I aided in its organization and have never formally withdrawn from it. Though for reasons, which seemed to me satisfactory, I have taken no part in its meetings of late, I have never departed from its principles, as stated in our DECLARATION—the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in the United States, by all those instrumentalities sanctioned by law, humanity and religion; and thus to deliver our land from its deadliest curse, and to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon. Not a month before we met at Philadelphia to form an Anti-Slavery Society, I had preached three sermons on the subject of slavery, and, among other things, said, that "it ought immediately to cease, because its continuance is preparing the way for civil war." Here I freely and thankfully acknowledge my indebtedness to you for enlightening me on the horrid cruelty and abominable wickedness of holding and using men as articles of property. No human enactments (falsely called laws) can change a being, created with the faculties necessary to make him a moral agent, accountable to his Creator, into an article of property, a marketable commodity. Never have I failed to bear testimony against slaveholding, a practice fraught with wrongs and woes unutterable. I do not call it an *institution* or a *system*, for it is neither. I constantly maintain the inherent, imprescriptable right of the slaves to freedom.

Because, as a nation, we have withheld from them that sacred right, at the same time proclaiming our belief that all men are endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, in the righteous Providence of God, the leaders in the rebellion have risen up to punish us and themselves for our atrocious wickedness. "Howbeit, they do not mean so, neither do their hearts think so." We are experiencing the scourges of the just indignation of God against us. Shall not we continue to feel them, till we remove the *great*, not the only, cause of them, by giving freedom to all the enslaved? As the nation refused to do what Abolitionists have been laboring to have them do, these thirty years, Jehovah has taken the work into His hands and He will do it effectually. What wonderful changes in regard to slavery are taking place! Ecclesiastical organizations, which, heretofore, have utterly refused or ignored any action in relation to slavery are now passing resolutions condemning the practice. Even the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at their late meeting, passed, unanimously, a "resolution of thanks to God that the entire abolition of slavery on the North American Continent is an inevitable, and not far distant, result of the war."

In regard to what has already been done for the overthrow of slavery and what we joyfully anticipate is to be done, we may exclaim, "Behold, what a great matter a little fire has kindled!" Surely, the agency of God is to be devoutly recognized and gratefully acknowledged in these changes. "He is pouring contempt upon princes, and setting the poor on high from affliction, and making him families like a flock. The righteous see it and rejoice, and all iniquity shall stop her mouth. He disappointeth the devices of the crafty, so that their hands cannot perform their enterprise."

Probably not many of those whose names are attached to our Declaration still survive. I may be one of the oldest, having past my *eighty-fourth year nine months*, and still able to plead the cause of the oppressed. Gladly would I be with you on the 3d and 4th of December, to recount some of the conflicts, trials, discouragments and hopes, through which our cause has passed. Surely, we may "thank God and take courage," for the right will ultimately prevail. Domestic affliction must prevent my personal attendance. Give my kind regards to those pioneers in the good abolition cause, who may be present at the contemplated meeting. I rejoice with them in the brightening prospect of having our country freed from that most inhuman and flagitiously wicked practice, which has exerted such a fearfully demoralizing influence through the whole land.

On behalf of the oppressed, I am truly with you,
DAVID THURSTON.

FROM NATHANIEL H. WHITING.

BOSTON, Nov. 28, 1863.

MY DEAR FRIEND: Your letter of invitation to attend the Thirtieth Anniversary of the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society at Philadelphia on the 3d and 4th of Dec. next, was duly received, and it would afford me great pleasure to avail myself of such an opportunity to visit the city of Brotherly Love, and mingle with you in the congratulations with which the old and tried veterans of our moral warfare will hail the dawn of the glorious sunlight of liberty in our guilty, and therefore stricken land. But my home duties will deprive me of that enjoyment. The apology of a letter is all I can offer to swell the grand chorus which will go up from thousands of hearts in thanksgiving and hope for that near future, when we trust the clanking of chains will no longer be heard—when, in the tardy repentance which is being wrung from us by such awful sacrifice and suffering, we shall strive to make some amends for the foul wrong we have done to our common human nature in the person of the negro,

"And, in the blood our hearts have spilt,
Wash out the long arrears of guilt."

Your work is nearly completed for which you blew that bugle blast more than a generation ago, warning the nation of the doom to which it was madly hastening, and summoning the good and true to the rescue of the imperilled and betrayed Liberty in whose behalf you then resolved to be "as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice." Certainly nothing less could have saved us. The trumpet has been heard. The shock of battle is upon us. The walls of the towering Jericho are tumbling down. But this desperate and convulsive struggle shows us that the warning voice came not a moment too soon—that the fangs of the serpent had touched the vital currents and nearly paralyzed the presiding centres of organic life. It now appears as if you were "just in time," and that the Divine obstinacy with which you have stood to your guns, "not retreating a single inch" through all these stormy and eventful years, has secured our salvation even "as by fire." I have said the work to which you specially pledged yourself in your early manhood is drawing rapidly to a close. What was that work? This, namely, That there is something in every man, constituting the inherent, essential qualities of his human nature, which belongs to *him*, and which can never rightfully be made a subject of barter and sale, and to which he has a clear and indefeasible title now and forever—from birth till death—and through the whole cycle of eternity. It furnishes the only basis of all legitimate government—of justice, love, mercy, and hope of life immortal. To deny this is to deny everything—to cast us out on the tempestuous sea of human life without chart or compass—at the mercy of every wind which unhallowed ambition, cupidity and hate may blow upon us—leaving us literally without God and without hope in the world. Standing on this primal, fundamental truth, the key to all that is noble and aspiring in man's character and destiny, it may well be said that "Slavery is the sum of all villanies," and that its advocates are logically capable of committing any crime that has ever been perpetrated or conceived since the world began.

Our people stand aghast at the reported torture and starvation of the prisoners at Richmond, the wholesale murder of our colored soldiers and their officers when falling into the hands of the rebels, and at the stories of violated paroles and the stealing of articles sent by their permission from the loyal States, to relieve our perishing brothers in their loathsome dungeons; as if anything better could be expected of a people who have reduced cruelty, robbery, and murder to a science whose "divine right" is the *corner-stone* of their hell-born "Confederacy." No! Instead of wondering at any cruelty or breach of plighted faith which the rebels may display, we should regard this as but the natural rule of conduct among those who would destroy a beneficent government for the purpose of founding an Empire on a basis more infernal than that spirit which ruled Tamerlane when he reared his pyramid of human scalls on the plains of Damascus. The devil that has so long possessed this people is now being cast out. He will rend us in departing, and it is possible the patient may be taken up for dead; but the new birth into universal liberty shall insure for us and for our children a long and brilliant future of prosperity, freedom and happiness.

"Not as we hoped, in calm of prayer,
The message of deliverance comes;
But heralded by roll of drums,
On waves of battled-troubled air.

"Not as we hoped, but what are we?
Above our broken dreams and plans
God lays, with wiser hand than man's,
The corner-stones of liberty.

"I cavil not with Him—the voice
That Freedom's blessed gospel tells,
Is sweet to me as silver bells.
Rejoicing! Yea, I will rejoice."

As you gather, the remnant of that small but noble band who signed the "Declaration of Sentiments" at Philadelphia thirty years ago, with others, representatives of the many thousands who have since joined the army of freedom as it has gone "marching on," you have the assurance of an early triumph of those principles for which you have faithfully lived and so many have gloriously died.

"Once more to the breach, my friends, once more."

For even now, on the ruins of the old barbarism, blossoms of the new civilization are beginning to bourgeon from our national tree, and are rich with the promise of immortal fruit.

Yours in the light of the new dawn,
N. H. WHITING.

FROM REV. CHARLES G. AMES.

ALBANY, N. Y., Dec. 1, 1863.

DEAR MR. GARRISON: I greatly wish I could accept your kind invitation to be one of the favored many who will meet in Holy Convocation at Philadelphia this week: much more might I wish myself worthy to be counted as one of those who, by bearing the burden and heat of the day, have been the instruments of Higher Wisdom in bringing the Good Time so near. But as one born out of due time—as one born too late to be a worker in the earlier and more trying days when "not crime itself was so fatal to a man as to be known to hold abolition sentiments"—I do most heartily rejoice that other men have labored with such rich results. As I give thanks to God for all good, so do I thank him for the American Abolitionists, and for their noble work, which has made a true Republic—a Christian Commonwealth—possible in America. Of all the warriors which this continent has produced, from sturdy Miles Standish down to Unconditional Surrender Grant, I should most delight to crown with garlands of honor the brave men and women who have fought through the Thirty Years' War with Slavery.

Though I have never thought it wise or necessary to burn down our political house in order to clear it of vermin—though I have always believed that "Union" would sooner or later be understood to mean "Liberty"—yet I have also rejoiced to recognize that deep conservatism which has ever been at the bottom of all anti-slavery radicalism, and have been captivated by that sublime faith in God, and Truth, and the Brotherhood of all Human Interests, which has not ceased, through all these dreary years, to cry aloud in the ears of this guilty nation, "Let Justice be done, and the heavens *won't* fall!"

I join with you in thanking God for the victories of the Past, and also in taking courage for the battles of the Future. For *there is much heavy work waiting to be done.* In the first place, we must clinch the nail already driven, by maintaining the legal validity and securing the practical efficiency of the Great Proclamation. The highest military authority, pressed by an unparalleled national crisis, has done what John Quincy Adams said any General might do—has declared concerning more than three million slaves held by the public enemy that they "are, and henceforward shall be, free." Powerful combinations will be formed to secure the return of the rebel States with no guaranty for the enforcement of this national decree of freedom: the plain English of which is, that for the sake of re-investing traitors with their forfeited rights of citizenship, we will permit the reënslavement of these loyal millions, in violation of the plighted faith of our government. For the sake of a false, treacherous and dishonorable peace, we will make ourselves active accomplices in the blackest crime of history! It would scarcely be more monstrous, if we were to send proposal to the rebels, "If you will resume your old, hypocritical pretence of allegiance and live at peace with us, we will consent to the butchery of all the soldiers now in arms against you, of all Southern Unionists whose presence offends you, and of all Northern men whose opinions are hostile to slavery!" It is for anti-slavery men to teach this nation that all acceptable peace-offerings must be laid on the altar of Liberty, and not on the altar of Despotism. And it is for anti-slavery men to see to it that "the promise of freedom, being made," *shall* be "kept."

What more effective way of clinching this nail, so well driven into the coffin of our national Tormentor, than by striking straight, bold, hard blows in favor of "liberty throughout *all* the land, unto *all* the inhabitants thereof!" If there are honest differences as to methods; if we do not all see clearly the wisdom or constitutionality of Congressional legislation against slavery in the non-seceding States, except on the basis of coöperation with those States; the least we can do is to insist that Congress must exercise its conceded power to invite and secure that coöperation. When it is wholly apparent that "Freedom for All" is the settled policy and purpose of that loyal mass which constitutes the nation, and which alone has the right to govern, slavery, in every Border State, as in Missouri, will be seen on its knees, in an agony of vain supplication for a little more time to make its will, chatter its prayers, gather up its robes and get ready to die as becomes its Christian professions. For we must henceforth reckon among "the powers that be," which "are ordained of God," and which "bear not the sword in vain," a compact, earnest, almost savage party of Emancipationists (not "Abolitionists"—oh, no *indeed!*) in every Border State, for even Kentucky must soon come pouting into line, jostled and crowded forward by her more sensible neighbors. When slavery, hotly pressed by foes who are dead in earnest, can only act on the defensive, and is confronted on its own ground by a free press and free assemblies of the people, the fight may be sharp, but it must be short. It will be glad to die all the sooner for being assured that the loyal sense and sympathy of the whole nation take sides with its assailants; and we must take care that such assurance is amply justified.

May I say one thing more, which lies much on my heart? You, of all men, know best how to excuse the many things which try to get themselves spoken when these sacred subjects are once broached.

We must stand by the Freedmen like brothers, through their trying period of transition—through the weary wilderness of years which will still stretch between their Egypt and their Canaan, even after they have clambered out of the bed of this Red Sea. We must nurse their infant liberty till it can go alone and defend itself. The negro, like another man, must indeed work out his own salvation, and fight his own battle; but we are bound to see fair play. The malignant, murderous prejudice and piratical rapacity of the white man must not be allowed to override the weakness, inexperience, ignorance and simplicity of a people just born into the world; nor to force unrighteous inferences from their faults and follies; nor to cheat them of the means of honest living and growing. *Equality of rights before the law* must not only be recognized in *form*, but must be secured in *fact*, as a thing of the spirit and the life, or Emancipation is only a victorious failure.

You asked me to "send a word of cheer"; and lo! I fall to talking of more burdens yet to be borne and more duties yet to be done. Happily, the lovers of God and man have learned that duty is joy and that hard work is heavenly pleasure. What greater privilege than to meet the rising occasion, and pour on the strained and sensitive ear-drum of this awakened nation, the clear, wise, warm message of Humanity and Justice? Never was the lesson more needed; never could it be more welcome; never could it sound so much like the trump of God.

Welcome, day of judgment! Depart ye cursed, who have betrayed and crucified the Christ in the person of his poor and helpless brothers! Come forward, ye blessed, who have been true to the rights of the least and the lowest—to the rights of those who could not recompense your fidelity! Inherit the kingdom! It is yours henceforward; and ye shall sit on the right hand of Power.

Yours, in the patience of hope and the labor of love,
CHARLES G. AMES.

FROM HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN.

CENTREVILLE, Ind., Nov. 27. 1863.

GENTLEMEN: I have received your letter inviting me to attend your Commemorative Meeting in Philadelphia, on the 3d and 4th of December next, and am sincerely sorry that my engagements will not allow me the pleasure of mingling with you on so interesting an occasion. I have scarcely time even for the brief word of cheer which my heart tells me I ought to send you.

Ten years ago, in a letter then written to your second Decade Meeting, I expressed the opinion that "the providence of God, availing itself of the blindness and wickedness of men," was "hastening on a great crisis in the history of our country," and that the anti-slavery cause was "passing through a transition period, from a feeble and unpopular, to a powerful and dominant movement, among the great forces that are shaking the world." Time has proved that I was right. When the Slave Power abandoned its warfare against freedom through its ordinary weapons and its recognized political machinery, and made an infernal leap at the nation's throat, it did more for our country than the wisdom of our statesmanship, the power of our philanthropy, or the virtue of the people could have accomplished for generations to come. The Republic is to-day receiving the remission of its sins through the baptism of fire and blood which it has been compelled to accept. Without the mighty help of this rebellion, the slave interest, enthroned in Congress and on the Supreme Bench, and holding in check the Executive, would now have held complete mastery over these States. But for this revolt, drawing with it the rebel power from Congress, the Pacific Railroad Bill could not have been enacted; polygamy in Utah could not have been abolished; the Homstead Bill would have failed; slavery in the District of Columbia would have continued; the territories of the United States, as to which Congressional intervention had been abandoned, would have been handed over to the tender mercies of "popular sovereignity," as interpreted by a slave-breeding Supreme Court; the Fugitive Slave Act would have continued in full force; the late action of Congress and the Executive giving freedom to three and a half million slaves, and allowing the negro to fight for his freedom and his country, and thus make sure his enfranchisement, would have been impossible; and in order to placate the rebel power and live with our "Southern brethren" in peace, an amendment to the Constitution would have been carried, tieing up the hands of the people forever, against the right to abolish slavery in the States of the South. Without the saving grace of this civil war I greatly fear our Union would have become a confederacy of corsairs, devouring humanity, defying God, exalting the devil, and gladdening the heart of every abolutist throughout the earth. Shall we not return thanks?

And the blessed work upon which the government and people have entered since the beginning of the rebellion, and by its help, cannot stop here. That the action of Congress and the Executive already referred to will be made sure and effective by a law of Congress totally abolishing slavery, is now far more probable than were the facts of to-day two years ago. This rebellion, born of slavery, will not be crushed without crushing forever its cause. The rebel States, in some form, will be placed under the pupilage of Congress, till they shall be qualified for recognition as *free* States. Not only will slavery be utterly destroyed, but adequate measures will be taken to prohibit it henceforth and forever in all the States of the Union. This will be done, either by an amendment of the Constitution, or by a just interpretation of its clauses guaranteeing republican governments to the States, and providing that no man shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.

Such are some of the compensations of this war, which we are to set down in the credit column of our account current with the rebels. Their madness has been our salvation—a "fetch upon Divine providence" in saving our land from destruction. Their unmatched conspiracy against civilization and the rights of man, so luxuriant in its diabolism, so sublimely infernal in all its phases, has set even conservatives and doughfaces to thinking, and roused up consciences long since regarded as dead and buried. Slavery, painting its own character in the flames of civil war and National Murder, has compelled every man to become an Abolitionist who is not a traitor. While treason and slavery are fitly joined in wedlock, loyalty and Abolitionism are convertible terms. Ideas and words are being revolutionized, as well as political balances. In the nomenclature of American politics, after the coronation of Liberty in our land, "Abolition" and "radical" will be chosen and precious words, "sweeter than honey on the lips of men"; whilst "compromise" and "conservatism" will be consigned to the limbo of whatever remains of cowardice, slavery, and treason. Men also will change places. Decency and manhood will be current coin in the commerce of public life. The defenders of slavery and its apologists will gravitate to their true level, whilst conspicuous rebel sympathizers will be scourged from the land, or creep to their political graves. Nor will history fail to crown with preëminent and signal honors the Abolitionists of the United States, whose courage, constancy, and faith, bidding defiance to proscription, persecution, and death, have kept alive among the people that spirit of liberty without which the Slave Power would have mounted to absolute dominion over the republic.

Wishing your meeting great success and usefulness, I am very truly yours,
GEO. W. JULIAN.

FROM GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

NORTH SHORE, Staten Island, N. Y., Nov., 1863.

DEAR SIR: I have the invitation to your meetings on the 3d and 4th of Dec., but my engagements will take me far away at that time. I do not wonder that you congratulate yourselves, for History will record that the Abolitionists were the vanguard of American liberty, not only in asserting the natural right of every man to personal freedom, but in maintaining through the fiery tempest of hostile public opinion the right of free speech, which is the corner-stone of a Republic of all the people, like ours.

I rejoice with you that we have lived to the day in which the people of this country plainly see that Liberty, and Liberty alone, is Union.

Faithfully yours, GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

FROM GEO. E. BAKER.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 2, 1863.

GENTLEMEN: Your invitation to attend the celebration of the Third Decade of the American Anti-Slavery Society was received by me with grateful feelings. Circumstances prevent my accepting it. Cheering as the prospect now is of the abolition of American slavery, there never was a time more favorable for a bold discussion of its nature and evils; nor a time when such discussion was more necessary. The people need a fuller appreciation of the intrinsic wickedness of slavery. John Wesley indulged in no figure of speech when he said, "American slavery is the *sum* of all villanies." He said truly and literally if we could add up, as we add up a column of figures, Murder, Theft, Adultery, Fraud, etc., the total would be—Slavery. The slaveholder is guilty not of one of the great sins only, but of all combined. Yet how many regard slavery chiefly as an economic evil, a question of expediency.

The rapid extinction of slavery now going on, at such fearful cost of blood and treasure, was foreseen by some of our great statesmen. They seem to have been of two classes. Mr. Everett in his Gettysburg Oration intimates that he saw it and strove, "perhaps too long," to avert the catastrophe by compromise. He represents one and much the larger class.

Mr. Seward, on the other hand, saw the result forty years ago, and sought to save the country from convulsion and war by constantly raising his voice of warning and by counselling the putting away of slavery through peaceful measures. To this end, with a small minority of his fellow-citizens, he labored. To this end also Channing, Garrison, Gerrit Smith, Sumner and others wrote and spoke. "Man proposes, but God disposes." An almighty Power has taken the work from finite hands, and now we "wait for the salvation of God."

Your friend and servant,
GEO. E. BAKER.

FROM HON. M. F. CONWAY.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, 20th Nov., 1863.

DEAR SIR: I am in due receipt of your kind invitation to attend the 33d Anniversary Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and nothing would afford me more gratification than to accept it. But my duties here forbid my leaving the State at this time; and therefore I must forego the genuine pleasure it would give me to be with you on that interesting occasion.

Though not a member of the American Anti-Slavery Society, I am a believer in it. I was never a member of any anti-slavery organization until I came to Kansas and united with the people in the formation of the Free State party. A native of Maryland, and brought up in a part of the State where slavery was never very strong, but where enough of it existed to enable me to learn, by actual observation, what it was, I think I present an example of natural and spontaneous anti-slavery growth, unaffected by any artificial stimulant. In other words, I judge myself a self-made anti-slavery man, as far as it is possible for any one to be such; and in the unprejudiced and independent spirit of such a character, I recognize in the American Anti-Slavery Society the primal agent in the regeneration of the American nation which is now in progress.

This Society started out with the proposition that slavery was wrong and ought to be abolished; and it went to work in a very exemplary manner to effect that object. In the enterprise was involved a revolution. Slavery could not be abolished as long as the nation was constituted on a pro-slavery basis, because thus the nation stood between slavery and the Abolitionists—bound by the law of its having to maintain it and put them down. To enable the Abolitionists (using the name in no technical or exclusive sense) to reach slavery in a manner to destroy it, the nation must first be revolutionized and reconstituted on an anti-slavery basis; and this involved first a convulsion of the moral elements of the nation, and then a convulsion of its physical elements—first *agitation* and then *war*—first a revolution in sentiment, and then a revolution in government—the one consequent upon the other, and both *essential* to the attainment of the end proposed. The existing war was therefore originally involved in the same grand impulse out of which grew the American Anti Slavery Society. The latter was preliminary to the former; and the war is only the anti-slavery cause in a more advanced stage of development. The Army and Navy of the United States constitute now American Anti Slavery Societies *par excellence!*

On the proper direction of the war depends, of course, the success or non-success of the great cause.

In accordance with these views I am free to say that I had no heart in this war, but as it seemed to me calculated to accomplish an absolute anti-slavery victory. In this respect I was constrained to differ from many of my friends. But it was impossible for me to do otherwise. I condemn war on general principles, and can only endorse it in behalf and for the behalf of a sacred cause. Considering this war as waged only to make good a claim of authority resting upon some attenuated abstraction of constitutional law—as a brutal and bloody encounter between slaveholders for dominion—my soul would shrink from it with abhorrence, as a monstrous crime against God. As such I could not but regard it as a flagrant and frightful perversion of an awful instrument of Divine goodness to an end of unparalleled wickedness. And, therefore, I have sought, in the exercise of such limited influence as I have, in one way and another, possessed, to prevent its being turned in a direction so challenging the condemnation of mankind and of Heaven.

But it is a source of extreme felicity that the war, through the overruling power of the Almighty—who is not "always on the side of the heaviest battalions"—is now adjusting itself to the great principle for the establishment of which it was permitted to be developed.

The war has substantially nationalized the North and *de*-nationalized the South. And by thus constituting the North the nation, it has given to Liberty the power wherewith to conquer Slavery. And no matter what may be the vicissitudes of the conflict, the ultimate triumph of liberty is assured. Thank God! the Future is ours!

But this assurance should in no wise inspire us with indifference to the progress of events. We must not suppose that *our* part of the work is finished. The American Anti-Slavery Society must not think of retiring from the field for many a long day yet. The future is ours; but we must do the work necessary to perfect the result.

Principles control events; though principles which are not recognized may sometimes be too strong for those that are. We have seen how the North, though unrecognized, has assumed nationality,—in spite of the principle upon which the war was being waged, of the inviolability of the original system, through which Southern nationality prevailed. But the fact should not only exist as such, but to make it permanently secure, it should be acknowledged in principle.

It is necessary and proper, therefore, that the government should recognize in terms the fact that the nation consists exclusively of the loyal States, and that the seceded States are a separate body, to be conquered and resumed by the nation upon its new basis.

The substitution of this principle for the one the government has heretofore acted on is important to the completion of our triumph, and should be pressed upon the Administration in every possible manner.

It is supposed that, upon reducing the rebellion, we may go into the seceded States, following the old system, recognizing the powers with which by that system they were invested, and rebuild upon an anti-slavery basis. But I warn the nation against this insidious measure. We cannot succeed in that way; it is impossible. We cannot rebuild in the seceded States, in the lifetime of the present generation, without embodying in the political organization the elements which now make up the life of the rebellion. The recent letter of Mr. Solicitor Whiting on this point is admirable and conclusive. Shall we confer the power which the Federal Constitution gave to the seceded States, when they were in the Union, upon such men as are now fighting the battles of the South, with the expectation that they will exert that power to perfect the result of our anti-slavery movement? This is undoubtedly the stupidest idea of the day. The very moment these men should again come into our government, they would seek to modify and pervert—to neutralize and undo—all that had been accomplished for freedom. They would strive in every way to keep the negroes a degraded and servile class; and for ascendancy would stand as a unit against the anti-slavery party in that behalf. Uniting with their friends and former allies in the North, they would revive the Democratic or organize a new party, and resume their former supremacy. This is, therefore, only another method of reproducing the old order of things, and defeating the legitimate result of the great progressive movement of the North.

In my judgment there is no absolute safety but in following the clearly defined course which it seems to me Providence has marked out for us; namely, to recognize the loyal States as the nation, and the disloyal as a body irrevocably separate and distinct therefrom; and then to conquer the latter and reorganize it in our own time and upon our own principle.

Let us not be deceived; let us watch and pray. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

I cordially reciprocate the generous and heroic sentiment with which you address me, and subscribe myself yours "to break every yoke,"
M. F. CONWAY.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Esq.

FROM JOHN M. LANGSTON.

OBERLIN, Dec. 3, 1863.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Esq: *Dear Sir:* Accept my thanks for your earnest and manly efforts in behalf of the American slave. You and your noble coadjutors have brought our whole land under lasting gratitude to you. It would afford me vast pleasure to be in Philadelphia to-day to aid in commemorating the Thirtieth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society Ill health prevents my being with you to-morrow. Up to last evening I had hoped to be with you. I can now only thank you for your kind invitation to be present, and thank you for what under God you have been able to do for the American people and the American slave. For in laboring to secure the emancipation of the slave, you achieved the enfranchisemement of all the people. And let all the people be grateful. Yours for God and humanity,
JOHN M. LANGSTON.

FROM REV. A. BATTLES.

BANGOR, ME., Nov. 27, 1863.

MY DEAR MR. GARRISON: I thank you for the invitation to attend the approaching anti-slavery meeting in Philadelphia. I cannot say how glad I should be to accept it. I was not old enough, if I had been so inclined, to share in the honor of helping organize your Society, but for the last fifteen years, I have been so thoroughly in sympathy with its objects that I should like to share in your rejoicings next week, over the prospect that your work is so nearly completed as an Anti slavery Society. I must forego that pleasure, however

In 1833, you and your coadjutors gathered in Philadelphia to devise measures looking to the overthrow of slavery in this nation. For thirty years you have warred with its terrible forces. With the Church and State, with Commerce and the Social forces of the land against you, with almost all, indeed, against you but Heaven's infinite Love and Justice, you have bravely borne the heat and the burden of the day, and now, in 1863, you are to come together to thank God that a way—different it is true from what you expected and prayed for, yet in a great measure through your coöperation—has been opened for the oppressed to go free.

The slaveholders of our country threw themselves squarely upon the atrocious principle that man can hold property in man, and with a zeal equalled only by their audacity, made issue with God and his justice, denying the rights of humanity, and even striving in their wrath to dethrone the Almighty. As might have been expected, they have signally failed. The very measures they put forth to strengthen their cause have hastened its overthrow. Cotton is not king. Slavery does not rule the land. This is not man's doing but God's. To him be the thanks.

Affairs are still much out of joint, but they are coming into order. Principles, heretofore rejected of men, are being acknowledged. Names before misapplied are getting rightly placed. Abolitionists have been derisively called destructive radicals by those who have claimed the more respectable name of conservative. But people are now seeing that the radical is the conservative. Jesus was a radical, yet his principles were "the salt of the earth." Luther was a radical, but his movement prevented religion from going to decay. John Adams and John Hancock were radicals, yet who, more than they, conserved the liberties of the colonies? So the Abolitionists of the United States, though intensely radical, for they apply the axe to the root of the tree, are also conservative. They have been seeking to preserve in the life of our nation, those principles without which a state rests on a sandy foundation. You will commemorate the thirtieth aniversary of your organization surrounded by the cheering signs that this fact is being recognized.

Men are coming to perceive also the righteousness of abolitionism. The black man is getting to be recognized as a man.

For all this let us thank God and take courage, and continue to work and to pray until we have a State founded on the principles of Christian Democracy.

Yours most cordially for the rights of man,
A. BATTLES.

FROM SARAH M. GRIMKE.

WEST NEWTON, Nov. 30, 1863.

DEAR BROTHER GARRISON: How my heart yearns to be with you on this soul-stirring and glorious occasion—the third decade of your untiring and unflinching efforts in the cause of Human Rights. What a jubilee to my spirit would it be to mingle with you in this celebration.

When our revolutionary fathers drew the sword to establish the great principles they promulgated, of the right of every human being to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, they achieved in their heroic and successful struggle for independence, the greatest triumph the world had then witnessed for liberty and self-government. But alas! they, too, soon proved that the blessings they had won were only to be enjoyed by the white man—they sat down under their vines and fig trees, and sang hosannas to the Highest for their deliverance. In the songs of their jubilee they heard not "the trampled negro's smothered cries."

To you and your coadjutors it was reserved to hear the groans of the oppressed—to cry aloud and spare not, to lift up your voices in the palmiest days of a haughty and prosperous nation, and proclaim on the house-tops that all their righteousness was but filthy rags—yea, that they were a stench in the nostrils of Jehovah. To you, and to those who have stood by you in the day of conflict, it has been reserved to fight the battle of the weak against the strong; of the down-trodden against the mighty; of the prisoner, scourged and tortured, against his tyrant; of the bereaved and bleeding mother, against the relentless wretch who robs her of her child; of all those helpless babes, robbed of their birthright, and doomed to hopeless bondage, against the ends who perpetrated this highest crime, against God and Humanity. The blessing of these destitute ones will be your exceeding great reward.

Now you stand on the height you have reached with so much toil and suffering and patience and fortitude. In surveying the past you hear the blessed language, "Well done, good and faithful servants! enter ye into the joy of your Lord." In surveying the present the word greets your ear, "Speak to my people that they *go forward.*" In surveying the future, you behold the glory of the Lord covering the earth, and you, too, may sing Hosanna to the Highest. Truly, if our forefathers did the work of noble men, nobly you have done the work of God in a godlike spirit.

This blessed war is working out the salvation of the Anglo-Saxon as well as of the African race. The eyes of the nation are being annointed with the eye-salve of the King of heaven, and thousand voices swell the anthem of praise and thanksgiving for what has been done; and lips, touched with living coals from God's altar, breathe the prayer, "Let not thine hand spare nor thine eye pity till judgment be brought forth unto victory."

This war, the holiest ever waged, is emphatically God's war; and whether the nation will, or not, He will carry it on to its grand consummation, until every American enjoys the rights claimed for him in our Declaration of Independence.

Will not some hero arise ere this conflict closes, on whom will rest the mantle of Toussaint L'Ouverture? Earnestly do I pray that from among the ranks of our colored brethren a savior may arise, who will make this war resplendent with his deeds of valor, courage, wisdom and fortitude; and who will be deservedly hailed as the final Deliverer of his people.

Yours faithfully, SARAH M. GRIMKE.

THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN OF RECONSTRUCTION.

[EXTRACT FROM HIS MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.]

WHEN Congress assembled a year ago, the war had already lasted nearly twenty months, and there had been many conflicts on both land and sea, with varying results; the rebellion had been pressed back into reduced limits; yet the tone of public feeling and opinion, at home and abroad, was not satisfactory. With other signs, the popular elections, then just past, indicated uneasiness among ourselves, while, amid much that was cold and menacing, the kindest words coming from Europe were uttered in accents of pity that we were too blind to surrender a hopeless cause. Our commerce was suffering greatly by a few armed vessels built upon and furnished from foreign shores, and we were threatened with such additions from the same quarter as would sweep our trade from the sea and raise our blockade. We had failed to elicit from European governments anything hopeful upon this subject. The preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, issued in September, was running its assigned period to the beginning of the new year. A month later, the final proclamation came, including the announcement that colored men of suitable condition would be received into the war service. The policy of Emancipation and of employing black soldiers, gave to the future a new aspect, about which hope and fear and doubt contended in uncertain conflict. According to our political system, as a matter of civil administration the General government had no lawful power to effect emancipation in any State, and for a long time it had been hoped that the rebellion could be suppressed without resorting to it as a military measure. It was all the while deemed possible that the necessity for it might come, and that if it should, the crisis of the contest would then be presented. It came, and, as we anticipated, it was followed by dark and doubtful days.

Eleven months having now passed, we are permitted to take another review. The rebel borders are pressed still further back, and by the complete opening of the Mississippi, the country dominated by the rebellion is divided into distinct parts with no practical communication between them. Tennessee and Arkansas have been substantially cleared of insurgent control, and influential citizens in each—owners of slaves and advocates of slavery at the beginning of the rebellion—now declare openly for emancipation in their respective States. Of those States not included in the Emancipation Proclamamation, Maryland and Missouri, neither of which three years ago would tolerate any restraint upon the extension of slavery into new Territories, only dispute now as to the best mode of removing it within their own limits. Of those who were slaves at the beginning of the rebellion, full one hundred thousand are now in the United States military service, about one-half of which number actually bear arms in the ranks—thus giving the double advantage of taking so much labor from the insurgent cause and supplying the places which otherwise must be filled with so many white men. So far as tested, it is difficult to say they are not as good soldiers as any. No servile insurrection or tendency to violence or cruelty has marked the measures of emancipation and arming the blacks. These measures have been much discussed in foreign countries, and, contemporary with such discussion, the tone of public sentiment there is much improved. At home the same measures have been fully discussed, supported, criticized and denounced, and the annual elections following are highly encouraging to those whose official duty it is to bear the country through this great trial. Thus we have the new reckoning. The crisis which threatened to divide the friends of the Union is past.

Looking now to the present and future, and with a reference to a resumption of the National authority within the States wherein that authority has been suspended, I have thought fit to issue a proclamation—a copy of which is herewith transmitted.

On examination of this proclamation it will appear (as is believed) that nothing is attempted beyond what is amply justified by the Constitution. True, the form of an oath is given, but no man is coerced to take it. The man is only promised a pardon in case he voluntarily takes the oath. The Constitution authorizes the Executive to grant or withhold the pardon at his own absolute discretion, and this includes the power to grant on terms, as is fully established by judicial and other authorities. It is also proffered that if in any of the States named a State government shall be, in the mode prescribed, set up, such government shall be recognized and guaranteed by the United States, and that under it the State shall, on the constitutional conditions, be protected against invasion and domestic violence. The constitutional obligation of the United States to guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and to protect the State in the cases stated, is explicit and full.

But why tender the benefits of this provision only to a State government set up in this particular way? This section of the Constitution contemplates a case wherein the element within a State favorable to republican government in the Union may be too feeble for an opposite and hostile element external to or even within the State, and such are precisely the cases with which we are now dealing. An attempt to guarantee and protect a revived State government, constructed in whole or in preponderating part from the very element against whose hostility and violence it is to be protected, is simply absurd. There must be a test by which to separate the opposing elements, so as to build only from the sound, and that test is a sufficiently liberal one which accepts as sound whoever will make a sworn recantation of his former movements.

But if it be proper to require as a test of admission to the political body, an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States and to the Union under it, why not also to the laws and proclamations in regard to slavery? Those laws and proclamations were enacted and put forth for the purpose of aiding in the suppression of the rebellion. To give them their fullest effect there had to be a pledge for their maintenance. In my judgment they have aided and will further aid the cause for which they were intended. To now abandon them would be not only to relinquish a lever of power, but would also be a cruel and astounding breach of faith.

I may add, at this point, that while I remain in my present position, I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation, nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress. For these and other reasons it is thought best that support of these measures shall be included in the oath, and it is believed that the Executive may lawfully claim it in return for pardon and restoration of forfeited rights, which he has a clear constitutional power to withhold altogether or grant upon the terms which he shall deem wisest for the public interest. It should be observed, also, that this part of the oath is subject to the modifying and abrogating power of legislation and supreme judicial decision.

The proposed acquiescence of the National Executive in any reasonable temporary State arrangement for the freed people, is made with the view of possibly modifying the confusion and destitution which must at best attend all classes by a total revolution of labor throughout whole States. It is hoped that the already deeply afflicted people in those States may be somewhat more ready to give up the cause of their affliction, if to this extent, this vital matter be left to themselves, while no power of the National Executive to prevent an abuse is abridged by the proposition.

The suggestion in the proclamation as to maintaining the political framework of the States on what is called reconstruction, is made in the hope that it may do good, without danger of harm. It will save labor and avoid great confusion.

But why any proclamation now upon this subject? This question is beset with the conflicting views that the step might be delayed too long, or be taken too soon. In some States the elements for resumption seem ready for action, but remain inactive, apparently for want of a rallying point—a point of action. Why shall A adopt the plan of B, rather than B that of A? And if A and B should agree, how can they know but that the General government here will reject their plan? By the proclamation a plan is presented which may be accepted by them as a rallying point—and which they are assured in advance will not be rejected here. This may bring them to act sooner than they otherwise would.

The objections to a premature presentation of a plan by the National Executive consist in the danger of committals on points which could be more safely left to further developments. Care has been taken to so shape the document so as to avoid embarrassments from this source. Saying that on certain terms cert